# BACONIANA

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*It should be clearly understood that* BACONIANA *is a medium for the discussion of subjects connected with the Objects of the Society, but the Council does not necessarily endorse opinions expressed by contributors.*

## EDITORIAL

NO doubt some of our readers will have noted in the *Daily Telegraph* of 23rd April, St. George's Day, leading articles commemorating the saint and also the actor, William Shakspear, whose life-story is said to be "richly documented" in comparison with that of St. George ! The articles were entitled "Great Untutored Genius", and "St. George, the obscure". The writer, after commenting on the silence with which Englishmen are wont to treat any challenge to their "cherished beliefs", goes on to denounce collectively all unorthodox theories as to the authorship of the Plays.

We thought it part of our duty to defend the common cause of "heresy" and, since all the various rival theories were lumped together, we thought it proper to show how they might be defended collectively. Our letter to the Editor was formally acknowledged but not printed, and will be found in our correspondence section.

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We are indebted to a member for our illustration of the old oaken panelling in the Compton Room at Canonbury; unfortunately the photographs of the inscription in the Tower Room are not clear enough to be worth printing. This is perhaps a pity since these elongated inscriptions have usually required to be set out in shorter and more numerous lines in BACONIANA. In our previous editorial we did not mention Henry Seymour's interesting article in BACONIANA for March 1925. Admittedly written from the "cypherist" angle, it nevertheless contains points of general interest to all Baconians. The fact that Nelson's *History of Islington* (written in 1811) reports "Fr.—" inscribed between Elizabeth and James, and does *not* report the jagged erasures which are now so noticeable, deserves attention. This is a possible indication that the "r", the "period", and the "dash", have been chiselled out since that time. Mr. Seymour also gives his reasons for rejecting Mr. G. B. Rosher's theory that the letters were originally "EAMQ". Readers who have these back numbers of BACONIANA will no doubt make their own deductions from the evidence available.

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The Council has recently been considering the very large stock which the Society holds of many back numbers of BACONIANA while other numbers are now in short supply. In order to help members

to fill gaps in their collections, and perhaps to extend these, the Council invite them to send the Secretary a list of their requirements. When these are approximately known, the Council hopes wherever possible to authorise the sale of back numbers at the reduced price of 1/- per copy plus postage. When members have had a reasonable time to take advantage of this offer, the price will again revert to the standard figure.

It is felt that the existence of a greater number of collections of our magazine will both help the cause and reduce the liability of a heavy stock in one store room, which might be destroyed. It is particularly hoped that our growing membership in New Zealand will take advantage of this offer. Past numbers of BACONIANA make very interesting reading, and many of the articles diffuse a flavour of that leisurely, orderly and scholarly life which was so marked a characteristic of Victorian and Edwardian times. "Money" wrote Francis Bacon, "is like Muck, best when it is spread out" ! We feel that this simile, without offence, might have been applied by Bacon to the practice of hoarding documents and books, which perhaps could be more widely used in fertilising the mind.

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Our Secretary has been much interested in the correspondence which has arisen as a result of his remarks on Canonbury which we included in the Editorial Column of the December, 1953, issue of BACONIANA. He has recently shown us an old and authentic map which throws additional light on the names of the buildings on the old estate. The very intriguing letter which he has sent us on this subject will be found in our correspondence column. Members who visit the Tower by appointment with the Secretary can be shown this map on which the words "Queen Elizabeth's Tower" are clearly shown. There is also an interesting picture of the surrounding country and fields, in which the figures in the foreground and middle-ground all appear to be dressed as gentlefolk of the Queen Anne or Georgian periods.

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We are very pleased to print the concluding instalment of Mr. Roderick Eagle's *Guide for Beginners*. The whole work seems well worth reproducing under separate cover. We hope to be able to announce further plans in our next issue of BACONIANA, and meanwhile place on record our grateful thanks for this contribution.

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Unfortunately, there are still outstanding subscriptions for 1954. We appeal for members' co-operation in keeping our finances straight, and reducing the routine office work that otherwise becomes necessary.

It will have been noticed that the price of BACONIANA has been raised to 3/6. The Council regret the necessity for this step, but it is hardly possible to ignore increasing expenses indefinitely, although the cost of the magazine had remained at half-a-crown for many years past. The higher price is still not unreasonable in comparison with similar publications.

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Mr. F. J. A. Bunnett, F.S.A., has kindly directed our attention to the following, from *The Spectator*, 1712, No. 554. Friday, Dec. 5th.

> "One of the most extensive and improved Genius's we have had any Instance of in our own Nation, or in any other, was that of Sir Francis Bacon Lord Verulam. This great man by an extraordinary force of Nature, Compass of Thought, and indefatigable Study, had amassed himself such stores of Knowledge as we cannot look upon without Amazement. His Capacity seems to have grasped All that was revealed in Books before his Time; and not satisfied with that, he began to strike out new Tracks of Science, too many to be travelled over by any one Man, in the Compass of the longest Life. These, therefore, he could only mark down, like imperfect Coastings in Maps or supposed Points of Land, to be further discovered and ascertained by the Industry of After-Ages, who should proceed upon his Notices or Conjectures."

This interesting eulogy of Francis Bacon reveals a considerable insight into his attainments, and appeared in the last issue but one of *The Spectator* under Steele's editorship, with Addison's co-operation.

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The *Daily Telegraph*, on 30 April, 1954, gave a review by W. A. Darlington, on "The Annotator" (by Alan Keen and Roger Lubbock). Alan Keen owns a heavily-annotated copy of Halle's *Chronicle* (1565) and he "leaves his reader persuaded that the writer of the marginalia in this copy of Halle may indeed have been Shakespeare himself." The following letter to the Editor of the *Daily Telegraph* was acknowledged with thanks and regret that publication could not be promised:

Dear Sir,

"Shakespearean Detection"

Mr. Alan Keen seems to believe that, in the annotated copy of Halle's *Chronicle* which he possesses, the handwriting is that of Will Shakspere's, supposed author of the Plays. The only sure test is, of course, comparison with other writing by the same author. But, as there is not known to exist a single line of authentic writing by Shakspere, or any one book owned or used by him, such a test is not possible; and Mr. Keen's belief must remain mere wishful thinking.

The extremes to which wishful thinking may lead, can be seen in Southwark Cathedral. Yesterday, I was there admiring the very beautiful window recently executed by Mr. Christopher Webb. Beneath the window is a tomb, surmounted by a recumbent figure, and bearing the inscription—"In memory of William Shakespeare for several years an inhabitant of this parish." Greatly wondering how there could be a tomb here, as well as at Stratford-on-Avon, I consulted the guide-book and there read—"Fate has willed that Shakespeare's bones shall repose on the shores of the Avon until righteousness is done in the earth. Until that happy time comes, Southwark must possess an empty tomb. . . . he came to live within the shadow of St. Saviour's tower in 1596 and remained

for fifteen years . . . There is no proof, of course, that he ever entered his parish church or trimmed his beard or went to bed. At the same time, it is practically certain that he did all these things. In any case, we may well be convinced that he did the first, for his youngest brother, Edmund Shakespeare, 'a player,' was buried in the church . . and it is unlikely that so human a fellow as Shakespeare would stay away from the burial."

In *Survey of London* Vol. XXII (1950) published by the London County Council, it is stated that diligent search was made of the considerable body of parochial, manorial and other records relating to Southwark, for the period during which Shakespeare could have been in London; in particular the token books, vestry minute books and other records of St. Saviour's parish and the court rolls of the manor of Paris Garden; but that "no fresh evidence was found to confirm the oft-repeated statement that Shakespeare lived in Southwark. An impartial review of the existing evidence can only lead to the verdict 'not proven'." As regards Edmund Shakespeare, nothing is known beyond the appearance of the name in Hunts Rents, Maid Lane, in 1607, the year of his death.

Yours faithfully,

1 May, 1954 (Signed) T. WRIGHT

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## OBITUARY

Members will be very sorry to hear of the recent death of Miss Eleanor Mapother, who was for so many years an enthusiastic member of the Society, and who gave it her generous help on several occasions. Miss Mapother was always anxious that the Society should return to its old quarters at Canonbury Tower and happily she was present on the occasion of our house-warming party last October.

One point which was always of particular interest to Miss Mapother was the pioneer work of Sir Philip Sidney in forming the literary group which Francis Bacon was later to organise so effectively. In her view the historical side of the Elizabethan age, on which she was expert, needed as much careful investigation and research as the literary side, in which most of our members are proficient.

The Society has lost one of its senior and most enthusiastic members, and the Council wish to place on record their deep appreciation of the valuable services which for so many years she has rendered them.

# STAGE DIRECTIONS

By W. G. C. Gundry

It has often been pointed out that there is an hiatus in Shakespeare's cycle of *Histories* dealing with our Kings. (I am not taking into account the Apocryphal Plays at the moment, though I shall mention one presently.

There is a gap between the play of *King Richard III*, the last of the Plantagenets and that of *King Henry VIII*: the former ends with the final triumph of the Lancastrians at Bosworth Field and the death of the former King in 1485; the latter begins when the Tudor Dynasty had been firmly established on the throne of England.

It is, perhaps, significant, or curious that Shakespeare, who had written the plays dealing with the reigns of *Richard II*, *Henry IV*, *parts* 1 *and* 2: *Henry V*, *Henry VI*, *parts* 1, 2 *and* 3, should have omitted that of *Henry VII*.

It may be objected that he has not dealt with the reign of Edward IV: but it may be fairly answered that in *Henry VI*, part 3, that reign is partly covered, as the narrative is taken to the Field of Barnet in 1471 when Edward IV has been seated on the throne for ten years, with a brief interval abroad in Burgundy after his deposition by Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, in alliance with Margaret of Anjou, the wife of Henry VI. The play ends with Edward on the throne.

If the Apocryphal Plays are taken into account the sequence between *King John* and *Richard III* would include *Edward II* and *Edward III:* the latter appeared in 1596 and was printed by Cuthbert Burby in that year. In William Rawley's *Life of Bacon* we read:

> His Lordship also designed, upon the motion of his late Majesty to have written the reign of King Henry the Eighth; but that work perished in the designation merely, God not lending him life to proceed farther upon it than in only one morning's work; whereof there is extant an *ex ungue leonem*, already printed in his Lordship's *Miscellany Works*.

In 1623, the year in which the *First Folio* of Shakespeare was published, Bacon's *De Augmentis Scientiarum* also appeared, and it is in that significant year he is stated to have spent one morning's work on a fragment dealing with King Henry the Eighth.

Dr. Rawley, as noted in the quotation above, indicates that from the fragment which remains the reader may judge the nature and quality the work would have assumed had it been perfected, for that is what the Latin means,—that a lion may be judged by its claws, or to give another Latin quotation with the same significance: *Expede Herculem*—"the rest of the body of Hercules may be judged by the size of his foot."

It is interesting to note the possibly intentional ambiguity of the language employed by Bacon's Chaplain when he refers to his master's morning's work:

"but that work perished in the designation merely . ."

This statement might easily be interpreted as meaning that the work had had its name changed, and *not* that it was never completed, indeed, that it had been given a dramatic rather than a purely historical prose form;—perhaps it had, and found expression in the Shakespeare play which we now know as *Henry VIII*. The words might also mean that Bacon's design, or intention had been changed.

We know that in January 1623 Bacon had applied to the proper authorities for the loan of such documents as might be in the public archives, relating to that monarch's reign.

At this time Bacon appears to have been actually at work in real, or apparent fulfilment, of his undertaking, for under the date February 10th, Chamberlin writes:—

> "Lord [Bacon] busies himself about books, and hath sent out two lately, *Historia Ventorum* and *De Vita et Morte*, with promises of more. I have not seen either of them because I have not leisure; but if the *Life of Henry VIII*, which they say he is about, might come out after his own manner, I should find time and means enough to read it."[1]

In acknowledging a communication from Sir Toby Mathew on June 26th, 1623, Bacon writes:—

> "Since you say the Prince hath not forgot his commandment touching my history of Henry VIII; I may not forget my duty. But I find Sir Collier, who poured forth what he had in my other work, somewhat dainty of his materials in this"

The "other work" was probably *The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh.*

Who Sir Collier was, I do not know, but I assume that he was the official responsible for the custody of the Royal MSS. or National Archives, or possibly some subordinate of the Master of the Rolls.

At the end of *Resuscitatio* (1661) there is a collection of short works by Bacon of what is claimed as "A perfect list of his Lordship's true works, both in English and Latin" and among these under the title "Miscellany Works" appears, "The Beginning of the History of K. Henry the 8."

It is interesting to speculate if Bacon made more use of the material thus put at his disposal than in merely writing a fragment which occupied only one morning's work and which "perished in the designation merely." Did Bacon in fact leave the History of *Henry VIII* incomplete as just a fragment?

Are not Wolsey's lamentations over his fallen greatness an expression of his own feelings at his own misfortunes, and the panegyrics in that play on the future Queen Elizabeth I and King James VI and I couched in authentic Baconian language?

To reinforce this argument I will quote from a pamphlet by Mr. Howard Bridgewater entitled "Evidence connecting Sir Francis Bacon with Shakespeare."

[1] *Coincidences, Bacon and Shakespeare*, page 62, by Edwin Reed, M.A. (Boston- Coburn Publishing Co. 1906).

'In the play *King Henry VIII* occurs the following:—

"Enter to Wolsey, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earl of Surrey, and the Lord Chamberlain [the Earl of Pembroke according to a footnote]

"Norfolk: Hear the King's pleasure, Cardinal: who commands
you to render up the great seal presently into our hands;
And to confine yourself
To Asher House, my Lord of Winchester's,
Till you hear further from his Highness"

The extraordinary point about this is that while the writer adheres, with historical accuracy, to the names of two of the peers who were sent to relieve Cardinal Wolsey of the great Seal, on the occasion of his downfall he adds two more to the number of them. And it is remarkable that the titles (though not their only titles) of these other peers are those of two of the four peers who, upon the occasion of the downfall of Verulam, waited upon *him* for this same purpose!

"While it would be natural for Francis Bacon (at this time Lord Verulam) [Viscount St. Alban] thus to bring the circumstances of Wolsey's fall into line with his own, the chance that anyone else would do so is so remote that, expressed in figures, it could scarcely be greater than as one to a million."

I have not forgotten that the subject of my paper is Bacon's *The History of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh*, but the references I have made to the fragment dealing with Henry VIII, also by Bacon, are, I submit, germane and relevant to the subject which I propose to discuss.

Let us now turn to the former; my edition, from which I quote later has the title and imprint:—

"The History of the Reigne of King Henry the Seventh: London printed by I.H. and R.Y. and are to be sold by Philemon Stephens and Christopher Meredith, at the signe of the Golden Lion in Paul's Church Yard 1629."

I would notice in passing that my copy has the well-known (and possibly significant) running channels and depressions on the pages—probably impressed with a hot iron when the leaves had been damped. I do not propose to theorise on this subject, however, beyond observing that some have attributed a Masonic significance to them. The book, as is usual with many publications of this period, has many words in italics. Let us look at some of these which may have a special reason in view of the use made of them in stage metaphors. On page 20 we read:—

"There was a subtill *Priest* called Richard Simon, that lived in *Oxford*, and had to his pupill a *Baker's* sonne named Lambert Simnell, of the age of some fifteene years; a comely youth, and well favoured, not without some extraordinarie dignitie and grace of aspect. It came into this *Priest's* fancie (hearing what men talked, and in hope to raise himselfe to some great *Bishopricke*) to cause this *Lad* to counterfeit and personate the second sonne of

Edward the Fourth, supposed to be murdered; and afterward (for he changed his intention in the manage) the Lord Edward Plantagenet then prisoner in the *Tower*, and accordingly to frame him and instruct him in the *Part* hee was to play. This is that which (as was touched before) seemed scarcely credible; Not that a *False person* should be assumed to gain a *Kingdom*, for it hath beene seene in ancient and late times; nor that it should come into the mind of such an abject Fellow, to enterprise so great a matter; for high Conceits doe sometimes come streaming into the Imaginations of base persons, especially when they are drunke with *Newes*, and *talke* of the people. But heere is that which hath no *apparance*; That this *Priest* being utterly unacquainted with the true *Person*, according to whose patterns hee should shape his *Counterfeit*, should thinke it possible for him to instruct his *Player*, either in gesture and fashions, or in recounting past matters of his life and education; or in fit answers to questions or the like, any wayes to come neare the resemblance of him whom hee was to represent."

The words in italics are:

*Priest, Oxford, Baker's, Priest's, Bishopricke, Lad, Tower, Part, False person, Kingdome, Newes, talke, apparance, Priest, Person, Counterfeit, Player.*

I would particularly call attention to the words, *False person, Counterfeit*, and *Player*. The word counterfeit seems to have been a favourite one with Shakespeare: it occurs 42 times as a noun in his plays; as a past participle 4 times; as a present participle the same number; as an adverb once; and in the form "counterfeit'st" three times.

To give an instance of Shakespeare's use of the word I will quote from *King Henry IV*, pt. 1, Act v, scene 4:

Falstaff: "'Twas time to counterfeit, or that hot termagant Scot had paid me scot and lot too. Counterfeit? I lie; I am no Counterfeit: to die, is to be a counterfeit; for he is but the counterfeit of a man who hath not the life of a man; but to counterfeit dying, when a man thereby liveth is to be no counterfeit, but the true and perfect image of life indeed."

Bacon died to the world as author of the Plays, but is immortal as Shakespeare!

On the next page (21) we find the following words in italics: *Stage-Play*. The context containing the two hyphenated words reads:

"And none could hold the *Booke* so well to prompt and instruct this *stage-play*, as she could"

The person referred to was the Queen Dowager, the widow of Edward IV.

On page 22 we read:—

"Simon did first instruct his *schollar* for the part of Richard Duke of Yorke, second sonne to King Edward the Fourth, and this was at such time as it was voiced that the King purposed to

put to death Edward Plantagenet, prisoner in the Tower, whereat there was a great murmur."

On page 23 the stage metaphor is continued where Bacon writes:—

"the cunning *Priest* changed his copie."

Lower down on the same page we read:—

"But yet doubting that there would bee too neare looking and too much *perspective* into his Disguise, if hee should shew it here in *England*; hee thought good (after the manner of *Scenes* in *stage-Players* and *Marks*) to shew it a farre of[f];"

By this time Simon the Priest had removed Lambert Simnell into Ireland and we read on page 24:—

"But the great ones were in forwardness, the people were in furie, entertaining this *Airie bodie* or *phantasme* with incredible affection; partly out of their great devotion to the House of Yorke; partly out of a proud humour in the Nation to give a *King* to the Realm of England"

How similar these views are to the obsession of many modern scholars in regard to Shaksper of Stratford-on-Avon and their desire to credit him with the authorship of the Plays: an obsession shared by the majority of the educated reading public, who credit him, an obscure actor and dealer in malt, with this supreme literary achievement!

On page 25 occurs the following passage:—

"But chiefly to make people see the vanitie and imposture of the proceedings of *Ireland*, and that their Plantagenet was indeed but a puppit, or a *counterfeit*."

It is a curious coincidence that long after Bacon's time the name Ireland should have been associated with Shakespearean forgeries!

On page 26 we read:—

"This *Lady* was amongst the examples of great varietie of *Fortune*."

It may be fanciful to suggest that this italicizing of the word *Fortune* has any reference to the theatre of that name, but if Bacon used his *History of the Reigne of King Henry VII* to wrap up his own authorship of the Shakespeare Plays and to indicate the counterfeit Shakespeare, it certainly would have point. The medium of this book would make a useful cover for such an enterprise!

In his Essay *Of Counsel* Bacon writes:—

"It was truly said *Optimi Consilarii mortuis* (the best counsel is from the dead): books will speak plain when counsellors blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage."

In his Essay *Of Cunning* occurs the following passage:—

"Some have in readiness so many tales and stories as there is nothing they would insinuate but they can wrap it into a tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more in guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure."

In the Preface of *Wisdom of the Ancients* we have the following passage:—

> "Upon deliberate consideration, my judgment is that a concealed instruction and allegory was originally intended in many of the ancient fables. This opinion may, in some respect, be owing to the veneration I have for antiquity, but more to observing that some fables discover a great and evident similitude, relation, and connection with the things they signify, as well in the structure of the fable as in the propriety of the names whereby the persons or actors are characterized; insomuch that no one could positively deny a sense and meaning to be from the first intended, and purposely shadowed forth."

And again:—

> "For parables serve as well to instruct or illustrate as to wrap up and envelop, so that though, for the present, we drop the concealed use, and suppose the ancient fables to be vague, indeterminate things, formal for amusement, still the other use must remain, and can never be given up."

And further:—

> "And even to this day, if any man would let new light in upon the human understanding, and conquer prejudice, without raising contests, animosities, opposition, or disturbance, he must still go in the same path, and have recourse to the like method of allegory, metaphor and allusion."

On page 36 of *Henry VII* we read a passage which shows how the stage was constantly in Bacon's mind as a suitable metaphor:—

> "Whereas Fortune commonly doth not bring in a *Comedie* or *Farce* after a *Tragedy*"

In this case the word "Fortune" is not in italics as it is in the previously quoted passage on page 25, but *Comedie*, *Farce* and *Tragedy* are so emphasised: the Fortune Theatre no doubt staged all these! When the narrative of Lambert Simnell's rebellion concludes on page 40 (*mispaged* 04) the stage similes end until we reach that of Perkin Warbeck (another Pretender) which begins on page 112 with the words:—

> "At this time the King began againe to be haunted with sprites, by the *Magicke* and curious Arts of *Lady* Margaret; who raised up the *Ghost* of Richard, Duke of *Yorke*, second sonne to King Edward the Fourth, to walk and vex the King. This was a finer *counterfeit* stone, than Lambert Symnell"

In this story of the second pretender it appears possible that Bacon made use of a second medium to covertly reveal his own relations with Shaksper of Stratford-on-Avon.

On page 113 we read:—

> "But this youth [Perkin Warbeck] (of whom we are now to speak) was such a Mercuriall, as the like has seldome been knowne, and would make his own Part, if at any time he chanced to be out. Wherefore, this being one of the strangest Examples of a *Personation*, that ever was in *Elder* or *Later* Times; it deserveth to bee discovered, and related in full."

Note the continued use of the stage as a metaphor and that the words "*Personation*", "*Elder*" and "*Later*" are italicised: the emphasis on *Later* Times may suggest that Bacon had in mind an impersonation of his own time.

At the bottom of page 113 we find:—

"A *counterfeit* of Richard, Duke of Yorke"

For a man of Bacon's literary attainments he appears to give rather more than just rhetorical emphasis to the word "*counterfeit*", but we have not yet done with his repetition of this word.

On page 119 we find *Counterfeit stuffe* and on the next page *Counterfeit Deceiver* preceded by the word *Fortune*, and on p. 121:—

"And yet (as it fareth in things which are currant with the *Multitude*, and which they affect) these Fames grow so generall, as the *Authors* were lost in the generality of *speakers*."

Is this a hint for posterity to indicate the losing of the identity of the real author of the Shakespeare Plays?

On page 122 we find:—

"Yet Perkin was a *counterfeit*."

On page 125 occurs the word *Imposture*, and on page 130 *Pretender* to the Crowne of *England*; on page 141 *Gentleman's-Play*; on page 195:—

"It was one of the longest *Playes* of that kind"

The words *Imposture*, *Pretender*, *England*, *Gentleman's-Play* and *Playes* are all in italics.

On page 205 there is a whole spate of italics in the sentence:—

"In all the *Devises* and *Conceits* of the *Triumphs* of this *Marriage* there was a great deal of *Astronomie* [referring to Prince Arthur's marriage to Princess Katharine of Arragon]".

Lower down:—

"But (as it should seem) it is not good to fetch *Fortunes* from the *Starres*."

There seems to be an echo of Hotspur's lines in *Henry IV*, pt. 1, Act 1, scene 3:—

"To pluck bright honour from the pale fac'd moon"

and a few lines further down in the same speech:—

"And pluck up drowned honour by the locks."

It may be asked if I am but in pursuit of a mirage, some *Ignis Fatuus* of the vast field of mystery which surrounds Francis Bacon and the great author of the Plays known as Shakespeare's. It is you, gentle readers, to judge if this be so or not, and to decide whether there is a *prima facie* case for the suggestion which I have made for my contention that Bacon has made use of his *History of the Reign of King Henry VII* as a cover for a revelation of his authorship of the Plays; a revelation that is, to selected readers with sufficient intelligence or knowledge of Bacon's secret activities to pierce within the veil of obscurity which always seems to surround him.

I have already referred to Bacon's and Shakespeare's liking for the word "*counterfeit*": it might be a useful field of inquiry to find out how much other authors of the period made use of the word: we might indeed have a table of comparative vocabularies. J. M. Robertson

has entered this field in his *The Baconian Heresy, a Confutation.* The argument he makes use of is that certain expressions occurring in Bacon's and Shakespeare's works were common to other contemporary authors.

Before I conclude this brief article I would like to refer to the scholarly work which Mr. E. R. Wood is engaged upon in collating various copies of Bacon's historical work: he suggests that about 800 copies were published and states that the Stationers' Company edition-limit was 1,250 or 1,500 copies. It should be of interest to hear what variations he finds in the texts of the copies he examines. I believe it was the contention of our late member, and sometime Hon. Secretary, Mr. Henry Seymour, that there were differences in the texts: it would be interesting to know if these have any significance from a Baconian point of view and are not just printer's errors.

It may be that this article of mine may cause some (or *one*) of my readers to re-examine their early editions of *The Reigne of King Henry VII*; perhaps further inquiry may support the views I have so inadequately expressed.

# ANTHONY BACON. 1558-1601.

By R. J. A. Bunnett, F.S.A.

## Part II

In April 1594, Edward Coke was made Attorney-General, but Essex was not discouraged: he straightway pressed for the Solicitorship, now vacant by Coke's promotion, for Francis; again he failed, an inferior man being put over Bacon's head.

Lady Anne lay ill at Gorhambury with ague, and in September 1594 she wrote to Anthony, "I would fain have gone to London for physic next week, but I perceive I cannot, being weakish to ride so far and the way is but ill for a coach for me, besides the wet weather", and then she rails again against the brothers' servants—"But my sons have no judgment. They will have such about them and in their houses and will not in time remedy it before it break out in some manifest token of God's displeasure. I cannot cease to warn you as long as I am a mother that loveth you in the Lord most dearly . . ."

In a lengthy letter to Anthony "from my lodging at Twickenham Park this 25th January, 1594/5" Francis remarks in sending him a copy of a letter he had sent to Sir Robert Cecil, "Her Majesty sweareth this, 'If I continue this manner, she will seek all England for a Solicitor rather than take me'," and he suggests to his brother, "whether it were not a good time to set in strongly with the Queen to draw her to honour your travels." "I have here," Francis says, "an idle pen or two . . I pray send me something else for them to write out besides your Irish collection, which is almost done. There is a collection of King James, of foreign states, largeliest of Flanders."

Francis had been summoned to Court, but again was refused an audience with the Queen, who was apparently displeased at a request by him that he might travel.

Anthony now took up his residence at Essex House in the Strand, and was continually seeking loans from friends, more often for his brother than for himself.

In March 1595, their mother wrote to him—"Money is very hard to come by, and our friends more hard, and you shall be still in other folk's danger, and not your own man, and your debts will pinch you, though you may hope; but your continual sickliness withal is a great hindrance; and if you make show of a housekeeping in the City, you shall quickly be overcharged, much disquieted, and brought not over the ears but over the shoulders."

She is not, however, always chiding; she thinks of their bodily needs as well as of their spiritual welfare—"I send between your brother and you the first flight of my dove-house: the Lord be thanked for all: 2 dozen and 4 pigeons: 12 to you and 16 to your brother, because he was wont to love them better than you from a boy." (1st April, 1595), Two days later she writes—"I send you a hogshead of November beer, methinks good, and a barrel also of the same brewing which I did cause

the brewer then to run of the first tap of the same brewing, and so strong . . do you use it to your most good . . use your legs in any wise and daily lest they fail you when you would . . ."

A "long carpet[1] and the ancient philosopher's picture", she sends to Anthony from Gorhambury—"for the carpet, being without gold, you shall not I think have the like at this time in London, for the right, and not painted colours. . . You have now bared the house of all the best; a wife would have well regarded such things, but now they shall serve for use of gaming or tippling upon the table of every common person, your own men as well as other, and be spoiled."

In August, Lady Anne was lamenting that Francis, "with inward secret grief hindereth his health. Everybody saith he looketh thin and pale." He had, however, just been appointed by her Majesty one of her Council learned in the law, and she had conferred upon him at a nominal rent of £7 10s. 0d. p.a. 60 acres in the forest of Zelwood, Somerset.

Their mother says, "I would I were able to help you both out of debt; but set apart my poor mortmain which I certainly have vowed for any acknowledgments to God, I am not worth 100*l*. . I had rather ye both, with God's blessed favour, have very good health and were well out of debt, than any office . . I am heartily sorry to hear how he (the Earl of Essex) sweareth and gameth unreasonably. God cannot like it."

In October she sent the brothers twelve pigeons, 'my last flight,' and one ringdove beside, and a black coney.

An attack upon Cadiz having been resolved upon by the Government in the spring of 1596, Essex was given the command of the land forces. Burghley was ill, and in disfavour. "The old man" writes Anthony Standen, who, after acting as an intelligencer abroad, had returned to England in 1593 and attached himself to Essex, "Upon some fit would needs away against her (the Queen's) will . . when she saw it booted not to stay him, she said he was a froward old fool."

There is abundant evidence that the Earl habitually spent considerable sums of money in order to obtain early and reliable news from the Continent, and in May of this year he told Anthony: "I have racked my wits to get this commission, and my means to carry that which should do the feat, as they say." Some months later Francis warns him of the "inequality between his estate of means and greatness of respects."

Cadiz was captured on 21st June, and the expedition returned laden with spoils, whilst the antagonism between the Essexian and Cecilian faction was growing stronger. Anthony even called Burghley "the old man," and Antonio Perez, the Spanish renegade spy, whom Lady Anne designated, "that bloody Perez . . a proud, profane, costly fellow;" and dubbed Cecil, "Roberto il Diavalo."

Essex had despatched to England an account of the Cadiz action, which came to the knowledge of the Queen, who forbade its publication. Anthony did his utmost to persuade the printers to proceed, but

[1]A carpet was originally a thick wrought fabric used for covering tables and beds, etc.

they dared not disobey the order. So he caused written copies to be made, which he sent to the Earl's friends to copy and pass on; by this means a copy had been sent to Scotland; Bodley forwarding one to the Low Countries and M. de la Fontaine one in French for the French Court.

Financial difficulties continued to pursue the brothers; their extremely forbearing creditor, Trott, was anxious about his money. Accordingly, both the Bacons had supported him in a suit for the Clerkship of the Council of the North, but this proved abortive. Trott had borrowed from others to lend to Francis, and he now implored Anthony to have some thought for his credit, "With which all the means I have, and all the state of my poor friends, hath been employed and adventured for you and at your entreaty." However, a new friend now arrived on the scene to relieve the situation, a cousin, Mr. Robert Bacon, who made over to the pair the profits and receipts of the Office of the Fleet, amounting to £600 per annum. Francis appeared unappreciative of this service, and left his brother to deal with their benefactor, to whom Anthony writes; that Francis hath let the business "softly glide from himself upon me." And it is left too to Anthony to satisfy Trott by apparently some "burthering of himself, to ease and content a brother and a friend." He was steadily alienating his estates, admitting to Francis that he was, "by an imperfection of nature, not only careless of myself, but incapable of what is best for myself." Lady Anne writing on 10th July, tells her son that he had, "more need now to be more circumspect and advised in your troublous discoursings and doings and dealings."

The Queen was much dissatisfied that her share of the plunder brought to England by Essex was not larger, and he was constrained to cry "Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity", in writing to Anthony: but against that quotation he opposed another:—"that when God looked upon all His works, He saw that they were good. To this work, therefore, if I carry one brick or one trowel full of mortar I shall live happily and die contented." On 8th of September the Earl again wrote, that the Lord Treasurer and Sir Robert Cecil had been arguing with him before Her Majesty, that it was inexcusable his having brought no booty home. "This day," he tells Anthony, "I was more braved by your little cousin than ever I was by any man in my life." We learn from Anthony that at this time the Cecils were trying to detach him from the opposite faction.

Lady Russell, his mother's sister, called on Anthony and told him that the Lord Treasurer was vexed at his estrangement from him, and "sorrowing to hear that you have diminished what your father left you." She also accused her nephew of carrying on a suspicious correspondence with Scotland, and being too much concerned with foreign politics. "You are too well known and beloved in Scotland to be a true Englishman, and busy yourself with matters above your reach, as, foreign intelligencies and entertainment of spies." Anthony refutes these charges by claiming that the chief men of the State appreciated the information he drew from abroad and that anyhow his actions had

the approval of the Queen. So far as Sir Robert was concerned, he was prepared to accept his enmity, for Cecil had vowed that he held Anthony for his mortal enemy, and that he would make him feel it when he could, and finally he expressed the hope, "that the Lord Treasurer will neither find it strange nor amiss in him, if he continues his former honest course in giving no just cause to his Lordship's displeasure."

In corresponding with James VI of Scotland, both Essex and Anthony felt no doubt that they were doing a service to their country to the exclusion of any Spanish claims.

And so, it seems the Cecils attempted to concoct a scheme whereby the Earl could be removed from England by being given some foreign employment. Anthony warns his patron: "I must humbly beseech your Lordship to balance thoroughly in the depth of your wisdom the plausible offers which may be made unto you to prolong your absence."

Burghley did nevertheless make an attempt to conciliate his Lordship by supporting his claim to profit from the ransoms of the Spanish prisoners, much to Elizabeth's indignation. Anthony exults at the old man's humiliation. "Our Earl hath made the old fox to crouch and whine."

Lady Anne, meanwhile ever mindful, regretted she had no strawberries or fish to send from Gorhambury, nor beer.

Essex was now at the height of his power and popularity: he was the best-loved man in England, but the Queen recognised that his nature brooked no ruling, that his estate was not equal to his rank, and that his reputation and popularity depended on arms.

"The Queen", wrote Anthony, "used the Earl most graciously, and will, no doubt, more and more by God's goodness, so long as he continues his Christian zealous course . . not missing preaching or prayers in the Court, and showing true noble kindness towards his virtuous spouse (he had married secretly in 1590, Frances, the daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and widow of Sir Philip Sidney) entirely without any diversion."

On October 2nd Anthony stated that the Spaniards had effected a landing on the Irish Coast, and all the friends of Essex endeavoured to restrain him from taking over the command in Ireland; Francis, at this moment appearing in the role of a friendly counsellor. The Earl was still high in favour with Her Majesty, and Anthony told his mother in a letter, dated 31st December, that during the Christmas holidays Francis "had received gracious usage and speech from the Queen."

Taught by experience, Francis did not directly apply to Essex for his support in his candidature for the Mastership of the Rolls, now vacant, (May '96) but merely asked his Lordship to commend him to the newly-appointed Lord Keeper, Egerton. Francis's letter was enclosed in one from Anthony, who enlarged upon the fitness of his brother for the post and begs the Earl to recommend him to Egerton and to Sir John Fortescue, but not to mention the matter to the Cecils. Essex responded by sending Anthony three open letters "to my Lord Keeper, my Lord of Buckhurst, and my cousin Fortescue, respectively." And

then Francis suggested how the letter should be employed. Egerton, being a friend, he said, his letter could be delivered by one of Anthony's men, but that to Fortescue was to be, "accompanied with some few words of your own, taking knowledge of the contents, and that it is a thing carried, wholly without my knowledge, between my Lord and yourself." In his *Essays*, as we know, Bacon allows 'feigning' only when there is "no remedy"! The letter to Lord Buckhurst was to be kept for production at some future time. Some days afterwards Fortescue spoke to Francis on the subject of the letter. "I seemed," the latter remarks to Anthony, "to make it but a love-wish and passed presently from it", at the same time relating that 'The Queen saluted me to-day as she went to Chapel."

In January 1597 Anthony expostulated with the Earl on his "sudden departures" and frequent absences from Court. "Though your Lordship's mark be never so honourable, and you draw never so fair and shoot never so near, yet if the Judge be blind, and those that give aim partial, your worth and merit shall be by most malicious envy disguised and perverted and receive no other reward than censure and disgrace."

Essex was always anxious to acknowledge himself in the wrong if he had treated a friend hastily. On one occasion, after seeming to have neglected Anthony he wrote an apology: "Sir, if I gave you not satisfaction in my answer yesternight, the unseasonableness of the hour, my indisposition, and the dulness of both my wits and senses will plead my excuse."

At this time Francis Bacon published his *Essays* (the date of the 'Epistle Dedicatory' is 30th January 1597—our 1598) dedicated "To Mr. Anthony Bacon, His dear Brother, Loving and Beloved Brother", and concludes the dedication with "Your entire loving Brother Francis Bacon, from my Chamber at Gray's Inn." Since, the writer says, the *Essays* "would not stay with their Master, but would needs travel abroad, I have preferred them to you that are next myself." "I sometimes wish," Francis writes to the invalid, "your infirmities translated upon myself, that Her Majesty might have the service of so active and able a mind, and I mought be with excuse confined to these contemplations and studies for which I am fittest." Anthony in a very striking letter re-dedicates the volume to the Earl . . "As my brother, in token of a mutual firm brotherly affection, hath bestowed by dedication the property of them upon myself, so your Lordship to whose disposition and commandment I have entirely and inviolably vowed my poor self, and whatever appertaineth unto me, either in possession or right—that your Lordship, I say, in your noble and singular kindness towards us both, will vouchsafe first to give me leave to transfer my interest unto your Lordship, then humbly to crave your honourable acceptance and trustworthy protection . . ."

Anthony was again returned to Parliament, this time for Oxford. Francis had gradually begun to realise that he must not allow his fortunes to be too inextricably interwoven with those of Essex, fearing that, with his fitful, impulsive and unbusiness-like disposition, he might

be driven into courses which Bacon, carefully watching his own interests, could not permit himself to follow.

And so he decided to take up a rather neutral attitude, maintaining his relations with the Earl, but in such a way as not to incur the hostility of the Cecils. Anthony's affection for his Lordship, however, seemed to have shown no abatement and on 9th February, 1597, we find him writing: "My Singular Good Lord—As your Lordship's indisposition this last week increased, I fear me, with just cause of undeserved discontent of mind (which, God knoweth, are far more irksome to me than mine own bodily pains) have withheld me from troubling your Lordship with any particular cumbersome remembrances . . I am bold to send them to your Lordship, of whose deep wisdom, sound judgement, and true magnanimity I rest so assured as that my confidence in them checketh and choketh such grievous and stinging apprehensions as may, without offence, spring from dutiful care and unspeakable devotion of a continual sympathising heart . . ."

On 18th April Essex, Cecil and Raleigh dined together at Essex House, and a truce was made between the two warring factions, whilst the Earl was still tentatively making preparations to assume the command of the inevitable Irish expedition.

Before this took place His Lordship sailed to the Azores in command of the expedition to those Islands, and during his absence, for some reason, his friends deemed it necessary to assure him of their unyielding fidelity. On 14th September Lord Henry Howard writes in the name of Anthony, who was crippled with gout . . "He (Anthony) hath required by way of caution, to put in a bar to any wrongful plot that might be professed to his prejudice. He knows your noble disposition, and hath (so) often had experiment of your facility in acquitting persons guilty, as he cannot fear your hard conceit against him, that ever will be innocent. His brother, as the whole world knows, is dear to him, and yet I dare be sworn that he would rather wish him underground than he should live to your prejudice."

After the end of 1597 we possess no correspondence between Anthony and Essex: the subsequent letters were probably destroyed in case they contained anything prejudicial to the former. Anthony remained at Essex House until after the Earl's return from Ireland when we learn that, in order that he might be confined there: "By her Majesty's express commandment My Lady Leicester (Essex's mother) Lord and Lady Southampton, Mr. Grevell, Mr. Bacon, are all removed from Essex House."

Despite the attempts of Francis to dissuade him (he tells us in the *Apology concerning the Earl of Essex* that he himself was for compliance with the Queen and for peace, whilst His Lordship was bent on an independent policy and war) Essex took over the command of the Irish expedition. There is no doubt that Francis clearly foresaw the ultimate ruin of Essex, and Robert Cecil's triumph. Lord Burghley had died in September 1598.

On 27th March, 1599, Essex departed, "at the head of an army as great as himself required, and such for numbers and strength as Ireland

had never seen," and landed there on 15th April. The story of the Irish Campaign does not concern us here; but the Queen was furious when the Earl suddenly returned: "Our anger", she declared, "against Essex is, not because we mislike that he hath come over to persuade us to a course of mercy, but . . hath grown by his breach of commandment in bestowing our offices and honours." In point of fact, the greed for honour so admirable in a young soldier had degenerated into a greedy and intolerant vanity.

In the summer of 1600 Francis, with the idea of reconciling Her Majesty with Essex, drew up for him a letter to Anthony which Essex might copy in his own writing and send. He also drew up in Anthony's name, as part of the deception, a letter to the Earl, to which the other was to be in answer. Anthony might naturally be expected to show the letters to Francis, and the latter to bring them to Elizabeth's notice.

As Dr. Abbott states in his *Bacon and Essex*, the wonderful exactness with which he (Francis) has caught the somewhat quaint, humorous cumbersome style of Anthony, and the abrupt, incisive, antithetical, and passionately rhetorical style of Essex, makes the perusal of these compositions a literary treat, independently of their other merits.

To be observed also are the references to Francis in the letters. His Lordship must expect an eclipse for the moment, but Anthony hopes to see his brother "established by her Majesty's favour", as he thinks him "well worthy, for that he hath done and suffered." Essex admits to Anthony. "For your brother, I hold him an honest gentleman, and wish him all good, much the rather for your sake." So the Queen's possible jealousy of the Earl's friendship with Francis, was intended to be disarmed. The enemies of Essex were represented as being triumphant, and would not allow Elizabeth to have the opportunity of forgiving, and thus would keep him away from Court and in despair.

Anthony's letter suggested that the Earl was just then in one of his religious moods, and hinted that people will say that he resembled Leicester "who could never get to be taken for a saint", and call him a hypocrite undeservedly, and Anthony paved the way for Essex to abandon his religious melancholy, and enter on a new round of application to the Queen.

But the rebellion of Essex, its failure, his trial and execution then ensued. From a long letter addressed to Anthony, who died before its receipt, dated 30th May 1601, by an anonymous correspondent, we learn that the former was interesting himself to prove his patron innocent of the charges against him.

Anthony was never put on trial—he was approaching his end, the gout and stone were increasing their ravages—though his name twice occurs in the examinations of the conspirators in connection with the Scottish correspondence. Possibly the Government were not anxious to stress this side of affairs, and the demonstration of Francis's loyalty may have helped the Chief Secretary of State of the fallen Favourite in being allowed to fade away in comparative obscurity.

On 27th May 1601, Anthony died: Essex was gone: Southampton was in the Tower: Lady Anne Bacon was rapidly nearing that condition of semi-frenzy which afflicted her closing years; her Majesty was approaching death. Francis, forty years old, and still nobody, never again leaned on any man as he had on his brother.

When James VI of Scotland arrived in England, Francis sought his favour mainly on the grounds of "the infinite devotion and incessant endeavours (beyond the strength of his body and nature of the times) which appeared in my good brother towards your Majesty's Service . . all which endeavour and duties for the most part were common to myself with him though by design (as between brothers) dissembled."

In August 1604 Francis was granted a pension of 60*l* a year in consideration (in the words of the patent) of his brother's "good, faithful, and acceptable service."

Anthony Bacon's voluminous correspondence in sixteen volumes is mainly preserved in the Lambeth Palace Library, to which it was presented by Archbishop Tenison. Additional letters are in either the British Museum or the Public Record Office. His papers present as full a picture of European history as any extant collections of documents.

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# BACON OR SHAKSPER

## A GUIDE FOR BEGINNERS

By Roderick L. Eagle

### Part Three

From 1589 onwards, when the unknown author of *The Arte of English Poesie* said that he knew "many notable gentlemen in the Court that have written commendably, and suppressed it again, or else suffered it to be published without their own names to it," there are several allusions, veiled and open, to the fathering of writings upon insignificant foster-parents, and to anonymous or pseudonymous works. In 1591, Greene in his *Farewell to Folly*, observes:

> Others, if they come to write or publish anything in print, which for their calling and gravity, being loth to have any profane pamphlet pass under their names, get some other to set his name to their verses. Thus is the ass made proud by this underhand brokerage, and he that cannot write true English, without the aid of clerks of parish churches, must needs make himself the father of interludes.

Nashe also complained of this fashion of fathering writings on others for, in his Preface to Green's *Menaphon*, he says:

> Sundry sweet gentlemen have vaunted their pens in private Devices, and tricked up a company of taffeta fools with their feathers.

It would be interesting to know under what names these Interludes, Devices, &c. were published, and who the "sweet gentlemen" were who wrote them.

There are further allusions to these literary concealments in the *Satires* of Joseph Hall in 1598, where a contemporary poet, whom Hall calls "Labeo," is compared with a cuttlefish who hides "in the black cloud of his thick vomiture" when in fear of detection. Hall adds:

> Who list complain of wronged faith or fame,
> When he may shift it to another's name?

Hall's *Satires* contain many clues identifying "Labeo" with the author of *Venus and Adonis*. Hall, who afterwards became Bishop of Norwich, objected to the poem's licentious subject. He also scoffs at the use of so many compound words in the poem:

> In epithets to join two words in one
> Forsooth, for adjectives can't stand alone!

There are no less than four such adjectives in the first verse alone—"purple-coloured," "rose-cheeked," "sick-thoughted," and

"bold-faced." There is much more of such evidence in Hall to identify the concealed poet "Labeo" with the Shakespeare poem's authorship. The satirical poet and dramatist, John Marston, also brings in "Labeo" in an appendix to his poem *Pigmalion's Image*, in which "Pigmalion" brings the image he had carved to life:

> And in the end (the end of love I wot)
> Pigmalion hath a jolly boy begot.
> So *Labeo* did complain his love was stone,
> Obdurate, flinty, so relentless none;
> Yet Lynceus knows that in the end of this
> He wrought as strange a metamorphosis.

It was Shakespeare who "wrought as strange a metamorphosis" at the end of his poem where the dead Adonis melts like a vapour, and from his blood which had been spilled "a purple flower sprung up, checkered with white." The story is taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and that, surely, led Marston to use the word "metamorphosis." It will be noticed, too, that Marston writes in the same form of stanza as Shakespeare used for his poem.

Is it a coincidence that in the lines quoted above, Marston has "obdurate, flinty," "stone," and "relentless", while Shakespeare has in lines 199-200:

> Art thou obdurate, flinty, hard as steel—
> Nay, more than flint, for stone at rain relenteth?

Surely this identifies the "Labeo" of Hall and Marston with Shakespeare. Hall's "Labeo," the author of a lascivious poem who writes under a pseudonym, and who is always prepared to shift the responsibility upon somebody else, is eminently characteristic of Francis Bacon, who in a letter to Sir John Davies ended, "so desiring you to be good to concealed poets."

The edition of *The Poems and Plays of Thomas Randolph* (1605-1634) collected by Hazlitt, includes a Latin poem entitled "In Obitum Francisci Verulamii." It is a tribute to the genius, especially the poetic genius, of Francis Bacon. How did Randolph know that Bacon was a "concealed poet?" Was he told by Ben Jonson whose protégé he was? Randolph says that Bacon had no equal among the Muses. In the first two lines it is stated that "by dying the Verulamian demigod is the cause of sadness among the Muses" (the poem was published in 1626 soon after Bacon's death):

> *Dum moriens tantam nostris Verulamius Heros*
> *Tristitiam Musis, luminaque oda facit.*

Next we are told that "Phoebus withheld his healing hand from his rival, because he feared that Bacon would become King of the Muses." The whole elegy is in the same key, and concludes, "Yet, after all, my song can bring you no praise; thou art, thyself, a singer and therefore singest thine own glory." Hazlitt found this poem in a rare book called *Manes Verulamiani*, printed in 1626, following

Bacon's death. It is a collection of thirty-two Latin elegies by members of the Universities, the Inns of Court, &c. No less than twenty-seven are mainly concerned with the poetic gifts and literary output (open and concealed) of Bacon. He is apostrophized as "the morning-star of the Muses," "the tenth Muse, and the glory of the Muses' choir." We are told that Bacon "filled the world with his writings, and the ages with his glory." Another writer says, "If you will claim, O Bacon, all that you have given to the World and the Muses, or if you wish to be their creditor then, Love, the Earth, the Muses, will become bankrupt." Among the 'Manes' we have a writer alluding to Bacon as an ever-disguising and quick-changing Proteus: "at length we ask him 'who art thou' for he walks not every day showing the same face." These extracts are striking enough, but statements even stranger remain for, by the term "Poetry" the eulogists included the Drama—both comedy and tragedy:

*tali manu*
*Lactata cristas extulit philosophia*
Humique soccis *reptitantem* comicis
. . . . *instauravit: hinc politius*
*Surgit* cothurno celsiore, *et Organo*
*Stagirita virbius reviviscit Novo.*

What does all this mean if that Bacon did not seek to deliver true philosophy from the subtleties in which the schoolmen had involved her by his walking in the lowly socks of Comedy, and also in the higher buskins of Tragedy?

Those who wish to study the "Manes" can do so in the facsimile edition of the 1626 publication issued in 1950 by The Francis Bacon Society. A translation of the poems is included.

I have exceeded the length to which I intended to go when starting on this "Guide for Beginners." There is so much that I must leave unsaid; but I hope what is now put before you will urge you to take up the further study of the greatest of all literary problems. If it gives you such interest and enjoyment as it has brought to me, then you will be well rewarded.

THE END

# FRANCIS BACON'S UNACKNOWLEDGED DEBT TO THE SCHOOLMEN

by Anthony Mary Collins

## Part I

"THE Father of Experimental Philosophy" Francis Bacon, has been compared by Professor Fowler with Luther—

> "Both of them were intensely impressed with the importance and reality of their mission; both of them were grimly in earnest; both of them spurned all obstacles in existing opinion, and even exaggerated the difference between themselves and their opponents; and, lastly, each of them retained, far more than he suspected, the habits of thought, the more deeply-engrained prejudices, and even the more misleading forms of expression of his time."

"Exaggeration" seems an apt explanation of Bacon's bitter denunciation of the Schoolmen, which occurs frequently throughout all his writings. Yet his own declared opposition in practically every aspect of Scholastic theories and methods has been generally accepted at its face value. It has in fact been added to by some writers. Macaulay, who accused him of employing rhetoric not logic, himself was guilty of his own indictment in his magnificent Essay on "Lord Bacon," glowing (it is submitted) with inaccuracies, such as "He (Bacon) said nothing about the grounds of moral obligation or the freedom of the human will." Macaulay's summing up that

> "the difference between his school and other schools was a difference so fundamental that there was hardly any common ground on which a controversial battle could be fought"

has since become a literary judgment on Francis Bacon's Philosophy, but (it is now contended) *with the right to appeal*—even to the House of Lords!

In the *Advancement of Learning* Lord Bacon referred to—

> "the humour which hath reigned too much in the Schools which is to be vainly subtile in a few things which are within their command and to reject the rest":
>
> "The vanity of curious speculations wherewith the schools labour:"
>
> "the kind of degenerate learning (which) did chiefly reign amongst the schoolmen: who having sharp and strong wits, and abundance of leisure, and small variety of reading, but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly Aristotle their dictator) as their persons were shut up in the cells of monasteries and colleges, and knowing little history, either of nature or time, did out of no great quantity of matter and infinite agitation of wit, spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books . . This same unprofitable subtility or curiosity is of two sorts" etc., etc.,

going on through a long dissertation, and the allegation that their discourse was "breeding . . . one question as fast as it solveth another," to say that they were "fierce with dark keeping", their pride inclining them to "leave the oracle of God's word and to vanish in the mixture of their own inventions". Moreover he was no less scornful in his other writings, particularly the *Novum Organum*.

It is true that in the two centuries before Bacon, Scholastic Philosophy had receded within itself to a series of concentric circles of sophistry, but the teaching of the earlier Schoolmen, Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, William of Occam, Duns Scotus, Bonaventura and many others, had reconciled the wisdom of the Ancients with the Christian Religion, justifying what they asserted was revealed truth with the noblest form of human reasoning, and giving cogent explanations for rejecting such dicta as did not conform to their doctrines.

In brief the Schoolmen defended against the Idealists the existence of an External World; and against the sceptics the fact of sense perception; and this upheld the validity of intellectual processes by which we interpret things and reason about them. They taught the essential difference between living and non-living things, and from the nature of vital activities concluded to the existence in all living things of a vital principle or soul, which giving life to the body constitutes human personality not depending on the body for its existence. From the examination of human actions they maintained the faculty of free-will and held that intelligence, reasoning from facts of experience, can establish the existence of a supreme and infinite Spiritual Being, the First Cause of all things, the Creator of the Universe, the Founder of Cosmic Order and the end of man. Finally in the domain of human action they held that there is a natural distinction between good and evil, and our duty to do good and avoid evil is absolute.

Bacon's intention (according to his writing *De interpretatione naturae proaemium*) was to be an "Extender of the Kingdon of Man over the Universe, the Champion of human liberty and the Exterminator of the necessities that now keep man in bondage". With this motive (and, as Macaulay says, his desire not to make men perfect but to make them comfortable), he inaugurated his system of classification of the sciences. His aim was to build up from experimental knowledge a vast analysis of physical research which, all past theories having been refuted, would start a new system of scientific development for the material benefit of mankind. Moreover in *Novum Organum*, Book I, Aphorism CXXVII, he says

> "As common logic ruling by means of syllogism pertains to all sciences so his which 'proceeds by induction' embraces all things. For we construct a History and Tables of Discovery as much of Anger, Fear, Modesty and the like, and no less of the mental emotions of memory, of composition and division, judgment and the rest".

He further evolved a philosophy of social science and material success,

and he hoped finally to found first a huge national and later an international storehouse of knowledge and department of scientific research which would establish his object.

Aristotle had centuries before given science to the world and his extensive zoological enclosure was the first experimental station. He was convinced that the infinite variety of life could be arranged in a continuous series in which each link would be almost indistinguishable from the next, and in this, and in the compilation of his famous Categories, Bacon imitated him.

Now Luther, as Macaulay pointed out, "went so far as to declare that no man could be at once a proficient in the School of Aristotle and in that of Christ." Bacon was less didactic, but while patronising Aristotle with the title of "that excellent person" endeavoured to establish that his devotion to the syllogism or the deductive system of logic was not only misplaced but a menace to true philosophy. Nevertheless, unwittingly perhaps, Bacon whilst introducing the new Method of Induction in the classification of the sciences and in his Metaphysics, followed to a much greater extent than is commonly recognised, the deductions of the old Logic and the teachings of the older Philosophies, the medium being that of the Schools.

Aristotle said that the happiness of man consists in an act of the noblest faculty intelligence and therefore man's beatitude is in the contemplation of Truth. Now the love of this wisdom is true philosophy and the development of the world from the earliest ages can be traced by the trend of the philosophies which have inspired it.

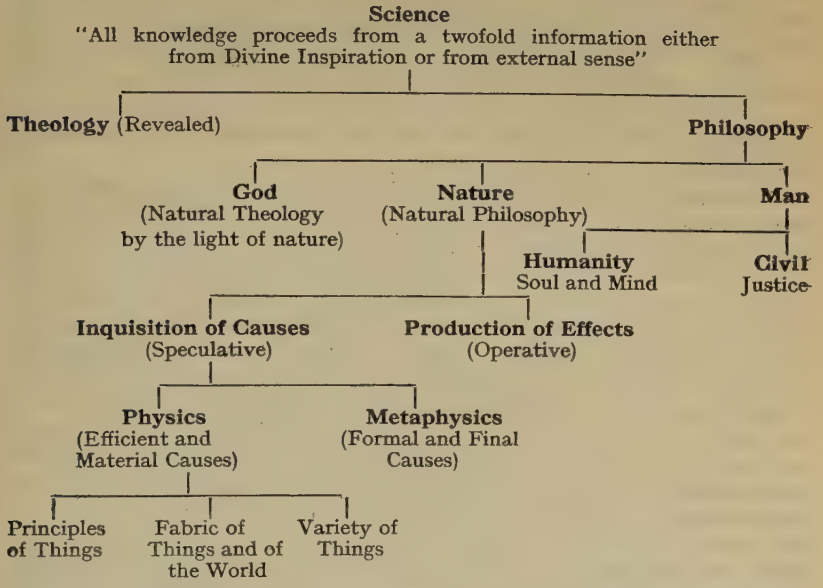
Philosophy according to the Schoolmen, was divided into Theoretical, dealing with things as we find them and as we reason about them, and Practical dealing with actions, this latter being divided again into Logic, the expression of intellect, Ethics the expression of Will, and Aesthetics the expression of Art; or in other words divided into Truth, Goodness and Beauty, the three fundamental principles in Metaphysics.

A system of Philosophy must however form a coherent whole. When for instance cosmology is considered, the findings and conclusions must not contradict the fundamental principles of metaphysics. If therefore a scientist is to be other than an experimenter with equipment he must be a philosopher in that he relates his findings to absolute or relative Truth.

The Schoolmen blended their philosophy with theology: not so Bacon. He said in the beginning of his later treatise *De Augmentis*, Book 3, Chapter 1. "All science proceeds from a twofold information either from Divine Interpretation or from External Sense". He therefore divided Science or Knowledge into Theology and Philosophy. The latter he divided into Knowledge of God by the light of Nature, or Natural Theology; Knowledge of Nature, or Natural Philosophy; and Knowledge of Man, his Humanity, that is his soul and mind, and his Civil State, relating him to Justice. Natural Philosophy he again divided into Enquiries of Causes (Speculative) and Production of Effects (Operative), and the former he sub-divided into Physics and

Metaphysics. "Physick is that which inquires of the efficient cause and of the Matter: Metaphysick that which inquires of the Form and the end", according to Wats's translation made in Bacon's lifetime, of Book 3, chapter 4 of the *De Augmentis*.

The divisions may be shown as follows, though they represent an incomplete abstraction of part of his scheme:




The first question of Philosophy must be Ontological or of Being. The Thomists held that all contingent and finite Being is only Being by participation and is from that which is Being by its essence (*Summa Theologica*, Part I, Question III, Art. 3 and Q. 44, Art. 1) namely the God whose perfect definition of Himself was "I am Who am."

It is obvious that Francis Bacon held there was but one Reality. Qualitatively he was not an Idealist, nor (as one might imagine from his activities) was he a Materialist. Admitting the existence of matter he appears to adhere to the Thomists' conception of matter and form. First Matter, being purely a principle of potentiality cannot exist alone, since to exist must be something, and the something that it is makes its form. Bacon says "The Form of any Nature is such that, if it be there, the given Nature infallibly follows. And so it is always present when that Nature is present and universally affirms its presence, and is inherent in the whole of it", and the reverse he says is the case (*Novum Organum*, Book II, Aphorism No. 4). In the *Summa Theologica*, Part I, Q. 47, Art. 1, St. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of all the Schoolmen says:

"Matter is for the sake of the form, not the form for the matter and

the distinction of things comes from their proper forms. Therefore the distinction of things is not on account of the matter; but rather on the contrary created matter is formless, in order that it may be accommodated to different forms."

In *Novum Organum*, Book II, Aphorism 9, Bacon writes: there arises "a true division of philosophy and of the sciences if those received Terms, which most nearly approach to our meaning, be transferred to our sense. Namely let the inquiry into Forms which are (in reason at any rate and after their own law) eternal and immoveable, constitute Metaphysics; let the inquiry after the efficient and material causes, after the latent process and structure, all of which regard the common and ordinary course of nature, constitute Physics."

Bacon was however, unlike the Schoolmen whose "received Terms" he mentions, by no means meticulous in his use of philosophical language, and that despite his own insistence in Book III, chapter 4 of the *De Augmentis*, on the necessity for proper definition of terms. For instance his commentators, and especially Prof. Fowler, have difficulty in reconciling his various interpretations of the word 'Form' which he employed to signify 'essence', 'cause', and 'law' on varying occasions, as he himself admitted. He refers in the *De Augmentis*, as above, to Aristotle and says he proposes to continue his terms (adopted by the Thomists), and in the preface to the *Novum Organum* he says "We make no attempt to disturb the system of philosophy that now prevails . . ." Presumably he refers to the Schoolmen who had incorporated the teachings of Aristotle into Christian Philosophy, re-introducing him to the Medieval World. It might be argued that Bacon was in conformity with "the Philosopher" of the Thomists, and not of his great Medieval exponents. Against this however it must be remembered for instance that the Averroists followed the theory of matter and form but held that matter was co-eternal with God and independent of Him, a conception totally opposed to Bacon's views as will be seen later. Bacon might have followed their doctrine or any of the other varied versions of the same First Principle, but he chose to adopt the Thomist explanation.

Similarly in other Aristotelian teaching such as in *De Anima* ii. 2, the soul being the form of the body, Bacon ignores other varying interpretations, as for example the soul being independent of the body as the followers of Descartes his contemporary held, and adheres to the opinion of the Schoolmen—*Summa Theologica*, Part I, Q. 76, Art 1.:

"This principle by which we primarily understand, whether it be called the intellect or the intellectual soul, is the form of the body."

In fact Bacon inter-relates such fundamental principles on a basis often almost of axiomatic acceptance, to the extent that by implication he asserts the truth of what was definitely expressed by the Scholastics, especially St. Thomas.

*(to be continued)*

# SHAKESPEARE AND ITALY

By R. J. W. Gentry

AMONG the hazards of life which the Elizabethans had to face as inevitable, plague must have held particular terror for the companies of actors. Playhouses were soon ordered to close down, so that the only chance of livelihood that remained was a tour in those provincial areas still unaffected by the outbreak.

An unusually widespread visitation in the autumn of 1592, lasting till the summer of 1593, caused the Council of State to issue a proclamation forbidding *all* gatherings, religious, political, or for purposes of entertainment. This particular period, therefore, has been regarded as the most likely opportunity that Shaksper, the Stratford actor, would have seized upon to do what all young men seeking knowledge and experience longed to do—visit Italy, the brilliant world of art and thought, and the repository of history.

But the evidence that he ever did so is purely inferential. No facts have come to light that prove his bodily presence in any Italian city at any time, that he passed through any place of importance on the continent, or that he even left his native shore.

However, let us see how far we may proceed, by inference, towards establishing the idea that Shakespeare (the dramatist) *did* visit at least some of the Italian settings of his plays.

In the first place, it would be necessary for him, of course, to cross the sea. Let us, therefore, recall scenes that would seem to indicate that he *had* observed seamen in action; that he had been so impressed by graphic details of what happened aboard ship at sea that he could reproduce them with remarkable *technical* accuracy.

Imagination, no matter how vigorous, can hardly supply information about specialized procedures completely outside its owner's normal experience. And he would have needed expert discrimination to select such information from books, even if any pertinent works had been available.

His stage directions at the beginning of *The Tempest*—"Enter a Ship-Master and Boatswaine"—is perfectly in accord with the accepted practice as it is found in Captain John Smith's *Accidence for Young Seamen* (not published, however, till seven years after Shaksper's death). Smith says: "The Master and his mate is to direct the course, command all the saylors for steering, trimming and sayling the ship. The Boteswaine is to have the charge of all the cordage, tackling, sailes, fids, and marling spikes, needles, twine and saile-cloth, and rigging of the shippe."

Shakespeare's Boatswain, a hardy old sea-dog, who has no time in *his* kind of emergency for any land-lubbers in his way, no matter how high their rank, cries: "Down with the topmast! yare! lower, lower! Bring her to try with main-course." An appropriate command, as the second Lord Mulgrave (who refuted Dr. Johnson's criticisms of Shake-

speare's knowledge of seamanship) explains in these words: "The gale increasing, the topmast is struck to take the weight from aloft, make the ship drift less to leeward, and bear the mainsail under which the ship is laid to." (Land had been discovered under the lee and the wind was blowing too freshly to haul upon a wind with the topsail set).

A little later the Boatswain shouts: "Lay her a-hold, a-hold! set her two courses off to sea again; lay her off." He had found the single sail not effective, and that the ship was going aground. Hence his order, which is, in other words: "Keep her to the wind as close as possible; set her fore-sail as well as her main-sail, so as to carry her off to sea again." Evidently this Shakespearian sailor knew what he was doing!

Now let us consider the storm in *Pericles* (III. i). Here again is heard an authentic note in the First Sailor's "Slack the bolins there!" And the Second one's "But sea-room, and the brine and cloudy billow kiss the moon, I care not." The Second Sailor is here placing a very proper emphasis on room for manoeuvring in rough water. He later on gives expression to what was, apparently, a common superstition at sea, that a storm "will not lie until the ship be cleared of the dead", and announces to Pericles that there is a "chest beneath the hatches, caulked and bitumined ready" for the body of the dead queen.

"O, the most piteous cry of the poor souls!" says the Clown in *The Winter's Tale* (II. iii) in describing the tempest-tossed ship which carries the babe Perdita. "Sometimes to see 'em, and not to see 'em, and now the ship boring the moon with her mainmast, and anon swallowed with yest and froth, as you'd thrust a cork into a hogshead."

In the opening scene of *The Merchant of Venice* Salarino speaks as one who certainly knew, from experience, the cares of a sea-going merchant; and in the first scene of *The Comedy of Errors*, too, Egeon, a merchant of Syracuse, remarks on "the small spare mast, Such as sea-faring men provide for storms."

These little touches give at least credibility to the notion that Shakespeare was, at some time, an eye-witness of seamen doing their job, even in difficult circumstances.

The late Sir Sidney Lee said that Shakespeare "doubtless owed all to the verbal reports of travelled friends or to books". "Verbal reports of travelled friends" is indeed vague; and as regards books, Professor Brandes has pointed out that there were no such books to help him, and that no description of Venice was published in England until after *The Merchant of Venice* had been written. He declared Shakespeare's knowledge of Italy to have been "closer than could have been gained from oral descriptions and books."

Lee quoted this passage from *As You Like It* to illustrate an opinion that Shakespeare "ridiculed foreign travel":

> *Rosalind:* Farewell, Monsieur Traveller: look you lisp and wear strange suits; disable all the benefits of your own country; be out of love with your nativity and almost chide God for making you that countenance you are; or I will scarce think you have swam in a gondola.

This distinguished authority seems to have failed to catch the meaning. Shakespeare, through Rosalind, is ridiculing those "Italianate" young gentlemen who, on their return from that fashionable part of their education, the "grand tour", made ostentatious display of the outward acquirements from their recent travels, as did, for example, Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford. Shakespeare is, indeed at one mind with Francis Bacon in condemning this absurd behaviour. In his Essay *On Travel* Bacon wrote: "When a traveller returns home . . . let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture . . and let it appear that he doth not change his country's manners for those of foreign parts."

That Shakespeare did, in fact, hold the value of travel highly is shown in the words of Valentine at the very beginning of *Two Gentlemen of Verona:* "Home-keeping youth have ever homely wits . . ."

In Scene III of the same Act Panthino urges Antonio to move Proteus, his son, to go abroad, saying:

> . . . let him spend his time no more at home,
> Which would be great impeachment to his age,
> In having known no travel in his youth.

Antonio replies that he agrees, and adds:

> I have consider'd well his loss of time,
> And how he cannot be a perfect man,
> Not being tried and tutor'd in the world . . .

"Like all his English contemporaries", says Ernesto Grillo (late Professor of Italian Language and Literature at the University of Glasgow), "Shakespeare was fascinated by Italy. Here he found the best material for his tragedies and romantic comedies . . Even the most casual readers of Shakespeare cannot fail to note the fact that the names of many of his characters are Italian, and that scenes in his dramas are often laid in one of the cities of Italy. Knowing little of the conditions prevailing in that period and nothing at all of Italian literature, they are astonished and seek an explanation. If, their curiosity being awakened, they carry their researches further, they will find that the chief dramatist of the English Renaissance, instead of inventing the stories which have entertained Europe for three centuries, was indebted not only for names, characters and scenes, but also for entire plots and general inspiration to Italian books imported from Venice, Rome and Florence."

This statement of Professor Grillo's naturally gives rise to the question, Did Shakespeare have translations of these Italian stories available to his hand and purpose, or was he, himself, able to read them in the original? The Professor answers this in direct terms: "The frequent use that the poet made of Italian *Novelle* and other works and the accuracy with which he introduced proper names and even whole sentences into his dramas are sufficient proof of the poet's knowledge of the Italian language. It has been argued that in Elizabethan England translations of Italian books abounded, but certainly Shakespeare's knowledge of life and customs in Italy was not entirely derived from them. In his lifetime some of the books to which he was indebted for

much of his material had not been translated into English. In the collection of tales by Ser Giovanni Fiorentino entitled *Il Pecorone* we find the whole plot of *The Merchant of Venice*; and in the *Hecatomiti* of Cinthio we may read the story of Othello, and that of the adventures of Isabella, which Shakespeare utilised in *Measure for Measure*. Many of Cinthio's *Novelle* had been translated into French, but the tragic tale of Othello was to be found in neither French nor English. This collection of short stories—*Il Pecorone*—was only published in Italy in 1558, and in Shakespeare's time existed solely in the original. The simple story of the Jew and the pound of flesh might be traced to other sources, but only in *The Merchant of Venice* and *Il Pecorone* do we find that the debtor, Antonio, whose pound of flesh was demanded by the creditor, is liberated by the skilful defence and intercession of the Lady of Belmont, wife of the debtor's own friend. In every other detail, too, we note that Shakespeare faithfully followed the Italian original, whose characters are transferred to the English comedy without the slightest alteration."

Incidentally, there were two other Italian comedies—*Gl' Ingannati* and *Gl' Inganni*—upon which *Twelfth Night* is based, and which were also not translated into English at the time Shakespeare used them.

Besides his adroit use of plot-material from Italian works, Shakespeare shows that he understands the *meaning* of Italian words by the appropriate way he uses them as names of characters. Three interesting examples are given by Mr. Roderick Eagle in his book *Shakespeare: New Views for Old: Biondello,* for the fair-haired youth in *The Taming of the Shrew*; *Cambio* (the name taken by Lucentio, in the same play, when he changes places with his servant) does actually mean "exchange" and is still used by Italian bankers in that sense; *Cassio,* whom Iago derides as a "counter-caster", one who knows more about debit and credit than military matters, is a Florentine, and the Florentines were noted for their skill as accountants and in arithmetic. Now how could Shakespeare have known that, if he never went to Northern Italy? Yet the name *Cassio* seems to have been deliberately chosen for its connexion with the Italian *cassiere,* meaning a "book-keeper."

Mr. Eagle also quotes a note of Charles Knight's on the *Merchant of Venice* passage:

> Unto the tranect, to the common ferry
> Which trades to Venice . . .

"If Shakespeare had been at Venice (which, from the extraordinary keeping of the play, appears the most natural supposition), he must surely have had some such situation in his eye as Belmont. There is a common ferry at two places—Fusina and Mestre." The word "tranect" is undoubtedly a misprint for "traject", an anglicised form of "traghetto" used in Venice to mean an anchoring-place for gondolas.

In *The Taming of the Shrew* Hortensio and Petruchio greet each other in some lines of pure Italian. Petruchio says:

> Signior Hortensio, come you to part the fray?
> 'Con tutto il core, ben trovato' may I say?

And Hortensio replies:

'Alla nostra casa ben venuto, molto honorato, signior mio,
Petrucio'.

In *Love's Labour's Lost* Holofernes quotes the proverb:

Venetia, Venetia
Chi non ti vede, non ti pretia.
(O Venice, Venice
Who sees thee not, loves thee not).

Indeed, most of the proverbs found in Shakespeare are Italian or of Italian origin; for example, "Se fortuna mi tormenta, la speranza mi contenta" (If fortune torments me, hope contents me), which Pistol reads from his sword in 2 *Hen. IV* (II. iv); and in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* we find 'sound as a fish', *sano come un pesce*, being an expression still in common use in certain parts of Italy. When the King, in *All's Well that Ends Well* (I. ii), says, "The Florentines and Senoys are by the ears", he is using another purely Italian phrase: *si pigliano per gli orecchi*.

Professor Grillo has uncovered some interesting parallels between Shakespeare and certain Italian poets. The well-known declaration of Iago:

Who steals my purse steals trash; . . .
But he that filches from me my good name
Robs me of that which not enriches him
And makes me poor indeed

reflects Canto LI of Berni's revision of the *Orlando Innamorato*; and another reminder of Berni is found in Othello's farewell to military life:

O, now for ever
Farewell the tranquil mind! farewell content! . . .
Farewell! Othello's occupation's gone!

When the same character, referring to the handkerchief, says:

A sibyl
In her prophetic fury sewed the work . . .

he is recalling a similar passage in Ariosto. And Canto XLIII of the *Orlando*, in stanzas 14 and 15 especially, contains something very like the episode of Prospero and Miranda; while, in stanza 187, allusion is made to the magic arts in raising or calming tempests. The first canto of the *Furioso* yields the idea of the malevolent lord trying to convince a youthful lover of the unfaithfulness of his beloved. Not only is there proof that Shakespeare knew the works of the classical Roman authors, but he manifests also a familiarity with some of the outstanding Latin writers of the Italian Renaissance, of whom Grillo instances Sannazzaro, Vida, Fracastoro and Battista Mantuano—the 'good old Mantaun' of *Love's Labour's Lost* (IV. ii).

Sir Sidney Lee admitted that the poet could read Italian, since "several French and Italian books, whence he borrowed the plots of his dramas, were not accessible to him in English translations"; and he proved that several of Shakespeare's Sonnets are mere echoes from the Sonnets of the great Italian poet, Petrarch.

(*to be continued*)

# SHAKESPEARE'S IDENTITY

By R. L. Eagle

IT is several years since a major work on the Shakespeare authorship problem was published, and though Dr. A. W. Titherley writes in enthusiastic support of William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby (1560-1642)*, I see no reason for confusion or disturbance of mind on the part of Baconians. The arguments for Bacon are more extensive, more convincingly corroborated, and wider in scope than for any other candidate. That is my conclusion after reading this book with the greatest care, and with keen interest and appreciation for the industry and scholarship displayed. Dr. Titherley has carried out much laborious research to add to the studies of the Stanley pioneers such as Professor Abel Lefranc (1919), who was the first to put forward the claims for Derby.

I think it was a mistake to compile so large a book. It extends to 338 closely printed pages. This means that the cost of printing and publishing must necessarily be heavy, and a high price greatly reduces the sale and, therefore, its propaganda value. There is far too much speculation on Stratfordian lines with the usual qualifications such as "perhaps," "probably," "may have," "would have," "it may be that," &c. I have quoted all these from *one* page (119) ! He is, however on sure ground in his masterly exposure of the Stratford tradition. Here, certainly, we are in complete agreement with him.

Most, but not quite all, of the points in Derby's favour are equally applicable to Bacon. On the other hand there are arguments supporting Bacon as Shakespeare which apply to him alone. There is nothing, for instance, of such value as evidence as that supplied by *Manes Verulamiani* printed in 1626 soon after Bacon's death. Furthermore, Dr. Titherley admits that Derby had no special knowledge of natural history, philosophy, medicine or psychology, on all of which Bacon wrote with authority. Reference, too, is made to Shakespeare's "political wisdom which is without parallel in literature." Here Bacon, like Shakespeare, was in advance of his time.

The mere fact that Derby was admitted to Gray's Inn does not, in itself, account for the saturation of Shakespeare's mind with law. Young noblemen joined the Inns of Court not for the serious study of law, but because these "honourable Societies" were the fashionable clubs providing gay companionship and entertainment.

As there are no writings under Derby's name, except some correspondence, by which comparison between his mind and that of Shakespeare might have been made, the strongest proof of identity is lacking. It is absurd to suppose that the great poet, whoever he was, would have left posterity no other books. Where are those books by the author of the Sonnets referred to in XXIII—"O, let my Books be then the eloquence !"?

**Shakespeare's Identity* (Warren & Son, Ltd., Winchester) 27s. 6d.

Dr. Titherley does not appear to have read any of the more serious works of Baconians. None, by author or title, is mentioned. His acquaintance is apparently confined to "the extravagant and fantastic cipher claims" (p.138) with which he seems to associate Baconians generally, though this is far from the truth.

It is pointed out that, as appears from his correspondence, Derby was fond of hunting deer. There is no evidence that this "sport" appealed to Bacon. Shakespeare deplores its cruelty through the mouth of Jacques. But Dr. Titherley considers that Derby depicted himself as Jacques (p.81) ! He also claims that the "horse images" in *Venus and Adonis* are just what we might expect from an author who was an expert and enthusiastic equestrian. Evidently Dr. Titherley is not aware that every point and detail of the horse of Adonis is lifted from Sir Thomas Blunderville's *The Fower Chiefyst Offices belongying to Horsemanshippe* (1565).

The allusion to Biron in *Love's Labour's Lost* to three years, as the period of his residence at the king's court, is of no special significance in connection with Derby's licence to travel for three years (p.64). This was the usual maximum period allowed for leave from England, and the restrictions and limitations for Bacon's travels were the same as for Derby.

Stanley matriculated at St. John's, Oxford. Shakespeare, however, uses words and expressions which were peculiar to *Cambridge*, and uses them correctly.

Dr. Titherley insists upon the Shakespearean authorship of the "Dowland" sonnet beginning "If Musicke and sweet Poetrie agree." As it appears to have been written by somebody who was already knighted by 1599, this would, on the face of it, support Derby and rule out Bacon. As, however, there were many courtly gentlemen writing sonnets without "putting their own names to them," and as there would have been knights among them, it is unreasonable to fix on Derby unless "Shakespeare" can be shown to have written this sonnet. W. Jaggard's publication *The Passionate Pilgrim* is a "piratical" collection of poems, of which only five can be ascribed with confidence to "Shakespeare," and this sonnet is not among them.

Dr. Titherley says that in 1606, Bacon was drawing "a princely salary." The "princely salary" of the Attorney-General was £81 6s. 8d. per annum, or between £500 and £600 as the present-day equivalent ! It was recognised as a custom that the higher law officers should augment their salaries by presents from suitors. Nowadays we should condemn the system as bribery. But the slander, repeated by Dr. Titherley, that Bacon accepted bribes when Lord Chancellor has been disproved by modern research. In The British Museum a copy of Thomas Bushell's little book *The First Part of Youth's Errors* (1628) can be seen, containing the confession of his seal-bearer that Bushell and other of Bacon's servants took and pocketed the presents from suitors, quite unknown to their master. These servants were the cause of Bacon's fall.

On pages 269-290 the attempt is made to identify the handwriting

of Hand "D" of the manuscript play of *Sir Thomas More* with that of Derby. I do not claim to be a handwriting expert and can only rely upon what is apparent to my sight. Comparing the reproductions from the manuscript with the handwriting in Derby's correspondence I found there was a general resemblance, but a close inspection revealed many differences in the formation of the same words and letters used in both. It is far less easy to distinguish handwritings in the old "English" handwriting than it is with the "Italian" script, which was beginning to replace it, especially with the cultured classes. This difficulty has even baffled the experts, who have disagreed among themselves over "Hand D" of *Sir Thomas More*, in the effort to fix it on Shakspere of Stratford, of the notorious six "signatures." It is, however, by no means certain that "Shakespeare" wrote the lines in "Hand D."

Stanley was said in 1599 to have been engaged in writing comedies "for the common players," and his brother, Lord Strange (to whose company of players Shakspere was attached) was also interested in poetry and drama. It was George Fenner (a Jesuit spy) who, working on behalf of Father Parsons, wrote to him at Brussels on 30th June 1599:

> "The earle of Derby is busyed only in penning comedies for the common players."

The source of this information is unknown, but even supposing it was reliable, it does not necessarily connect Derby with the *Shakespeare* authorship. Several of the tragedies had also been written and printed by 1599, and so had some of the historical plays. Is the word "comedies" presumed to mean any kind of play? There are, moreover, several contemporary references to titled gentlemen, and others of notable families, writing plays and poetry anonymously, or under other names. Derby, presumably, was one of them, but without acknowledged works bearing his name it is impossible to say whether "his mind and hand went together" with that of Shakespeare.

I can certainly recommend this book. Its merits far outweight its faults. There is much of interest and instruction for Baconians, and we must study opposing views to know our own case.

# FRANCIS BACON

By M. A. Witney

Part III

WE take up our study of Francis Bacon's life and work from the point where Queen Elizabeth had died and was succeeded by the Scottish King James. Under the new regime, Bacon at last gained advancement in the legal profession.

At the age of forty-five he married Alice Barham, the daughter of a London alderman, a handsome girl, his junior by thirty years. This union to a commoner was as much as a declaration that any possible claim to the Tudor Succession had been abandoned.

After that he rose swiftly in the State Service. He was made Solicitor-General, Clerk to the Star Chamber, then Attorney General and successively Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Chancellor, and a Peer of the Realm.

In his sixtieth year he was created Viscount St. Alban. Yet within three months after receiving this honour, England's greatest Lord Chancellor was dismissed ignominiously, a catastrophe so amazing that one can hardly comprehend it without surveying the circumstances which surrounded his fall.

Queen Elizabeth's claims of Ecclesiastical Supremacy had been a sore stumbling block to her subjects. They felt even more outraged by King James' declaration that the King had a Divine Right to do whatever he pleased. In the first year of his reign the nation was terror-stricken by a dastardly attempt to destroy both King and Parliament. This, as you know, is still commemorated with fireworks every fifth of November. If Guy Fawkes' "fireworks" had gone off, they would have been followed by the seizure of the King's children and an open revolt. A frenzy of horror filled the minds of English Protestants. Eight hundred clergymen petitioned James to reform the Church.

"Why," asked Bacon, "should the civil State be purged by laws made every three years in Parliament, and, contrariwise, the ecclesiastical State still continue upon the dregs of time and receive no alteration these forty-five years or more?"

But for all that, the King rejected the proposed changes and would not budge from the obsession of his Divine Right.

The historian, J. R. Green, describes King James as a man with a big head, slobbering tongue, rickety legs and goggly eyes. Under this ridiculous exterior lay a fund of shrewdness and learning, which made him, in the phrase of King Henry IV, "the wisest fool in Christendom."

All might have gone well, if James had confined himself to his speculations about predestination, witchcraft and the noxiousness of tobacco, but unfortunately for England and for his successor, he clung

passionately to his doctrine of the Divine Right, and this resulted in a death-struggle between his people and the Crown. And there was always trouble about money.

When James moved from Holyrood to Whitehall, he was accompanied by a crowd of courtiers and needy adventurers, the first trickle of the great stream of Scotsmen who have since come across the Border to seek their fortunes. Among these adventurers was a handsome young man, named Robert Carr, to whom the King had become inordinately attached. James showered favours upon him, made him a landed proprietor and gave him a seat in the House of Lords as Earl of Somerset. This adventurer managed to levy toll on those who wanted the King's favour. When Francis Bacon was appointed Attorney General, he refused Somerset's demand for a fee. Bacon never attained anything by bribery. Somerset, implicated in charges of poisoning and murder, was later displaced in the King's affection by another man.

If Somerset had been keen to fleece the aspirants for kingly favour, the new favourite, named George Villiers, was even more greedy of gain. He lusted for power. A youth of 22, his exceptional beauty caught the eye of James, who created him Duke of Buckingham. His power in the State became such that at the very nod of the insolent young upstart, the proudest men turned pale. The favourite, on whose neck James used to loll, was destined to drag down the throne of the Stuarts.

While Francis Bacon had kept Somerset at arm's length, his attitude towards the new favourite was different. He thought he saw in the young man one who could be inspired with high ideals that would purify the Court, ennoble the State and uplift the King. He wrote him a series of advices and explained the import of religion, law, peace and war, trade, colonies and other subjects. Behind the young man's courtesy and docility was hidden the rapacity that was to end in the disgrace of Francis and the assassination of the favourite himself. Like the young man in the gospel he turned away from his mentor and chose the pleasures of the world.

When the favourite found himself firmly seated in the saddle, he initiated a new era of squandermania. He surrounded himself and the King with profligate men and women. Money was flung away right and left on riotous living. To Buckingham and his companions were granted Crown patents giving them monopolies for licensing the sale of many necessaries and conveniences such as meat, salt, starch, candles, oil, and gold and silver threads; besides inns, ale-houses, etc. Traders who dared to resist the extortions were fined and imprisoned. Out of the proceeds the King took the lion's share and the Buckingham gang divided the remainder of the spoil. It was these abuses that Francis Bacon spoke and voted against, and which led ultimately to his undoing.

Public opinion became flamingly articulate in questioning whether the King had any right to these exorbitant demands. Bacon, as Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, had referees appointed to report on

the rightfulness of sealing the patents with the Great Seal. He saw in the monopolies the cankers of all trade.

The Crown lawyers, however, decided that the King's feudal rights still existed, as they had not been relinquished. Francis Bacon recommended that the unpopular patents, which were so hateful in the country, should be given up. But Buckingham, in his perversity, refused to be convinced and carried most of the others with him. So Bacon was outvoted.

Buckingham and his associates then tried to divert the odium from themselves to Bacon, and plotted to impeach him as a corrupt judge. They enlisted men who had been sentenced for fraud or had some other grudge against the Lord Chancellor. A worthless informer brought up two cases of bribery, which were easily disproved. Another list of cases was concocted which Bacon was going forthwith to refute by his notes and witnesses.

And then a most surprising thing happened. After a private talk with the King, Francis Bacon pleaded *Guilty*. Of this interview Montague gives the following account: "The King who had determined to sacrifice the Oracle of his Council rather than the Favourite of his Affection, gave him the advice, as it was termed, that he should submit himself to the House of Peers and that upon his Princely word *he* would restore him again."

James, who was Bacon's brother mason and King by Divine Right, constrained him to withdraw his defence and consent to his own humiliation. The conspirators in Parliament demanded a death sentence, but they were not allowed to touch his life. A fine of £40,000 was imposed and speedily cancelled. Bacon was sent to the Tower and soon released. His official career, however, had come to an end.

During Bacon's presidency over the Court of Chancellery, seven thousand verdicts had been given, which his detractors scrutinised closely, but no secret bribery or perversion of justice could be discovered.

Of the miserable crew who contrived Bacon's fall, everyone was later convicted of forgery or other crimes. Buckingham was stabbed by John Felton, to the joy of the English people. King James reaped the fruits of his evil life; a cripple, racked with pain, he died in mortal anguish, dreading what dire fate would befall his son Charles I.

Contrast with them Francis Bacon, who, in his retirement, could say "Sweet are the uses of adversity." The remaining years from 1621 to 1626, afforded him leisure for handing down to posterity his great writings, philosophical and poetical.

His wife Alice had grown into an admirable helpmate. She sustained the dignity of First Lady in the Land at a time when Francis acted as Regent during the absence of the King and Buckingham in Scotland. The marriage was not blessed with children, but Francis always spoke of his books as his children.

Two of his books, "The Advancement of Learning," and the

"Novum Organum" are counted among the most important prose writings in any language. They were dedicated to King James, who, on his accession to the throne, had been heralded as an enlightened author and scholar. Francis Bacon hoped that if the King could be interested in high educational and literary projects, England would bound forward politically, socially and spiritually. Unfortunately the King compared these books to the Peace of God which passeth all understanding.

Bacon, like a bell-ringer, called the Sciences together to labour for the common good of humanity. Knowledge acquired by enquiry, he insisted, would enormously increase the power and happiness of mankind. In one respect his attitude was specially significant. The age in which he lived was one in which *theology* was absorbing the intellectual energies of the world. He was the servant of a King with whom theological studies were supreme. But while he bowed to King James in other things, he would not bow in this.

Theology did not fit into his method of seeking for results by experiment and proving the evidence by reason. "If I proceed to treat of theology," he said, "I step out of the bark of human reason and enter the ship of the Church." His first questions in any field were not, "What do the scribes and school-men say?", but, "What are the facts?" "What does experience furnish?" He perceived the main weakness of organised Christianity to be the tendency to settle down into a "sacred" form and system. He lets Hamlet say, "There are more things between heaven and earth than are dreamt of in your philosophy." The grandest feature of Bacon's work was his noble confession of the liability of every enquirer to error. He was never tired of telling us that the Kingdom of Nature, like the Kingdom of God, can only be entered by those who approach it in the spirit of a child, and give up that fatal human pride which has hallowed the fancies of men in place of the imprint stamped upon things by the Divine seal. In this message he fulfilled his divine mission.

It was the energy and the eloquence of Bacon which first called the attention of mankind to the importance of physical research, simply aiming after truth, which was to be the law of modern Science. It led to the foundation of the Royal Society. Its echo was still heard in 1953 in Sir Edward Appleton's address at last summer's meeting of the British Association in Liverpool.

Bacon's intellectual activity was never more conspicuous than in the last years of his life. He began a digest of the laws, and a history of England under the Tudors, revised and expanded his "Essays", dictated a jest-book, and busied himself with experiments in physics. It was while studying the effect of cold in preventing putrefaction that he stopped his coach to stuff a fowl with snow, and caught the fever which ended in his death.

So much for his *public* work. Now let us speak of his *concealed* works, for which all nations proclaim their admiration and gratitude.

The compilation of the Great Folio of Shakespeare's plays published in 1623 has been a baffling mystery. The Stratford actor had

been dead about seven years. There were thirty-six plays, of which twenty had not been in print, and several had not been heard of before. The sixteen that had been previously published separately, in little Quarto booklets, were drastically revised for the Folio.

What actually happened, is simply explained. From 1612 when Bacon was appointed Attorney General, up to 1621, the time of his fall, he was too busy to write new plays. After his enforced retirement he had more time for what he called "the works of my recreation," and by 1623 he wrote several new plays. Ben Jonson lived with Bacon at his house for three or four years and helped him edit the Great Folio.

In his affliction Bacon turned to poetry for consolation. He collected the Quartos, revised them, and dealt with the manuscripts of the plays that had been acted but not printed. He added personal touches that reflected his feelings.

He then wrote other plays in which can be seen the final tragedy of his life. He held the mirror up to Nature.

*Timon* is a study of the effects of a reverse of Fortune upon a man of generous impulses. *Henry VIII* surely retells the fall of Francis Bacon in the fall of Cardinal Wolsey. In *The Tempest*, Prospero (the name signifies "Hope in the future") is an "unknown Prince of Power," cast down, with nothing to comfort him but his books and his child Miranda (signifying "Wonderful Things"). Prospero was devoted to the Arts and Sciences, so was Bacon. Prospero in the play, infuses a higher view of life into the crooked monster Caliban.

Thus the stage became the means of conveying uplifting ideas to the cross-grained masses of spectators and the educated who revelled in crime literature. In *Hamlet* he offers them the attraction of gory murder and poisoning, interspersed with high sentiments. In *The Merchant of Venice* we get the blood-lust, greed, and revenge of the Jew, yet "the quality of mercy is not strained."

Similar means are used in the other great plays. People of all time and all nations still look to him for the highest culture. "Thou hast filled the whole world with thy writings," one of the leading scholars said of him. But his plays can be understood and enjoyed better, if approached from the right view-point.

Shakespeare's Sonnet-diary was among the last of his tasks. The Sonnets enshrine his emotions in the great events of his life. Those regarding his Fall are particularly interesting.

Respecting his pen-name Shake-speare, which is spelled with a hyphen in all the first editions, it has already been explained that he acquired it in his youthful days at Paris, where he chose as his muse the goddess Pallas-Athene, the Spear-Shaker. He was known as such to his intimate friends.

You may also recollect that it became imperative to publish his poetical works under an assumed name. The crude actor William Shakspur received £1,000 for the use of his similar-sounding name and also for retiring to sleepy little Stratford, where he lived till 1616 as a money lender and wool-stapler and never meddled with poetry.

If you want to read an entertaining book, you might get "The Amazing Monument" by Ivor Brown and George Fearon. The monument is the faked Shakespeare bust in the church at Stratford-on-Avon. You will find it a well-written, documented history of the spread of the enormous commercial racket and idol-worship connected with Will Shakspur.

To any of you who should still disagree with me on this, I say, in the words of Francis Bacon, "Strive mightily, but eat and drink as friends."

"His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, 'This was a man!' "

**Editorial Note:** The complete text of Mr. Witney's lectures has been printed in brochure form, and can be obtained from the Secretary on application in writing.

# CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor, *The Daily Telegraph*
135 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

Dear Sir,

Since, in your St. George's Day article on Shakespeare, all rival claims of authorship are denounced collectively, may I defend them collectively?

It was right, on St. George's Day, to commemorate the birth, death and pastoral happiness of our great literary genius; but who, in the name of all sincere heretics—Oxfordian, Baconian or Marlovian—was he? If the actor's biography is as scant as it appears, one wonders if Mark Twain may not have been right, and there "wasn't any history to record".

Of the thirty-six Plays not a single manuscript has been traced, nor is there a single letter from Shakspear to anyone. Only one letter to him survives, and that concerns not literature but money lending! There is no evidence that he ever went to the small school at Stratford, or to any other school or college, and therefore it cannot be said with certainty whether he was uneducated, half-educated or fully educated.

To quote the internal evidence of the Plays as proof of Shakspear's education is to beg the question. They simply prove that whoever wrote them was a genius, and also possessed of an amazing wealth of knowledge. It is not claimed that "education alone" could produce such works of art; on the contrary our claims are all based on the reasonable theory that in this case genius and education were combined. In Bacon's words: "The knowledge which Man receiveth by teaching, is cumulative; as in a water that besides his own spring-head is fed with other springs and streams".

As to classical mistakes in the Plays, it is a fact that these were also made by Shakspear's more "tutored" contemporaries. You ask "what sort of character was William Shakspear the actor-manager, supposing he was no author?" Surely we can only fall back on the recorded facts of his life, and it is a great pity that these are so discreditable, that Emerson was unable to marry them to his verse.

However no one seriously maintains that the actor "unscrupulously purloined the work of others and hoodwinked the whole literary world of his time". Most of the unorthodox favour the view that his "name" was bought for "cash" (which everyone knows he much coveted) and that certain writers including Ben Jonson were "in the secret."

In an age of Tudor despotism the philosophy taught in the Shakespeare Plays was of a kind that no nobleman, scholar or teacher would dare openly profess. The hue-and-cry raised by Queen Elizabeth over the Play "deposing" Richard II, proves this clearly; and the revolutionary views expressed in such Plays as *Coriolanus, King Lear, Julius Caesar* and *Macbeth*—plays withheld until Elizabeth had been dead twenty years (and Shakspear seven years)—confirm this.

To your question "what would be the point of all this?" both Oxfordians and Baconians have a perfectly reasonable answer. It was necessary in those days, firstly to print such writings under a pseudonym, and secondly to lend additional substance to this by using, if possible, the name of a successful, witty, popular (and preferably illiterate) actor-manager; or, as he later became, an "honest" moneylender. The strongest argument for the actor's claim is the undoubted one that every quarto after 1597 bears his name or something like it, on the title-page. This constitutes a positive proof that either Shakspear wrote the Plays himself, or the real author wished to "father" them upon him.

I hope I have given sufficient grounds for our contention that the authorship of these Plays is still something of a mystery, if not one of the greatest literary problems.

Perhaps the least offensive answer to it is given in Bacon's *Novum Organum*: "Men believe that which they prefer."

Yours faithfully,
MARTIN PARES

54 Cheyne Court,
Chelsea, S.W.3.

To the Editor of BACONIANA

Sir,

In the letter which you print in the current number of BACONIANA (No. 148) Mr. R. L. Eagle, referring to the Editorial Notes about Canonbury Tower which appeared in the previous issue, asks if any member can help him as to the date when the word "Tower" was first used to denote the building. He states that in Bacon's time the mansion was known simply as Canonbury.

It would seem from his query that Mr. Eagle is unaware of the fact that Canonbury House and Canonbury Tower were two quite separate buildings. Canonbury House occupied a site some 160 yards to the east of the Tower beyond the eastern end of a small lake or pond which was to the north of the Tower, No trace of the "house" now remains above ground but it is of interest to note that in the 18th century Canonbury Tower was known as "Queen Elizabeth Tower", and is so marked on a map produced from a survey of the Parish which was ordered by the Vestry of St. Mary, Islington, based on the situation in the year 1805. This map shows quite clearly the relative positions of all the buildings which were collectively referred to as "Canonbury".

The "small village" Mr. Eagle mentions as shown on his map published in 1822 is something of a puzzle, as by 1805 Canonbury Square was a residential area, "ribbon development" was well advanced along Upper Street and the Holloway Road, and there were 1,743 houses and 10,212 inhabitants within the Parish. True there were fields to the east and north of Canonbury but it was by no means the rural area conjured up apparently, by the map in Mr. Eagle's possession. In fact by the 1820's there were over 3,000 houses in the parish and a population of well over 20,000.

During the 18th century Canonbury was known as "Canbury" and is so shown on maps of that period which are extant and can be seen in the Society's room in Canonbury Tower. This was an obvious corruption of the original name, but may well have been deliberate, for Islington was a centre of "dissenters" and anything, even a place name, connected with the Roman Church was usually anathema among such, as witness the numerous changes of place names in other parts of Britain. On one map this matter of the place name is referred to, and Canonbury is given with the additional note "formerly and antiently known as Canbury".

Nelson in his *History of Islington* says that Queen Elizabeth was at Canonbury in 1561 and had a "Lodge" or summer-house there. Not far away lived Henry Carey at Hunsdun House where Henry VIII had lived for a time after the property was given to him by Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. Robert Dudley had a property in Islington, and it would seem in fact that quite a number of the noble and wealthy had residences in the neighbourhood in Tudor times, and, I again suggest, Canonbury was by no means an isolated place buried away in the country.

There is an old print in the Society's room in the Tower which depicts "A View of Canonbury from the South". The print is not dated, but the several figures in the immediate foreground all wear costumes of the gentry belonging to the late 17th and early 18th centuries. To the left of the picture stands the Canonbury Tower we know to-day, instantly recognisable. In the centre is a long building approximately where Canonbury Place now is, and beyond that, the mansion of Canonbury House which has, arising from the roof, an ornamental tower or belfry. There can be no possible question of Canonbury Tower and Canonbury House ever having been nearer to each other than 160 yards, and in fact the Tower stood in a corner of the walled grounds.

Thus the above notes may possibly serve to remove "one of the several difficulties which must be faced" in defence of Mrs. Gallup, a difficulty be it noted, which arises through the ignorance of some of her critics regarding Canonbury. It is highly improbable that Mrs. Gallup had access to the maps and print referred to above, as they are the property of the Northampton Estate and were not on view when the Francis Bacon Society was previously housed at Canonbury Tower, which, in any event, was after she had visited England.

The most curious thing about Canonbury from our point of view, is the fact that all Bacon's biographers so carefully avoid mention of his having lived there,

yet he took up residence on the 15th February, 1616, and a lease of 40 years on the place on Lady Day, 1617. When he "took up the 99 year lease on the Manor of Newington Barrowe it was "dated at Canonbury, 15th Sept., 1629." He was therefore living at Canonbury for quite a number of years and nobody says anything much about it. One wonders why.

I am Sir,

8 Cranleigh Gardens, Kenton,
Harrow, Middlesex

Yours faithfully,
WM. ASPDEN

To the Editor of BACONIANA
Dear Sir,

## BI-LITERAL PROBLEMS

From the "Editor's Note" after Mr. Wright's letter in BACONIANA, May 1954, it is clear that you wish to drop discussion on the bi-literal cipher for the present. Mr. Wright has, however, accused me of being an unreliable critic and I must ask you, in fairness, to allow me a brief reply to some of the fallacies in his arguments.

1. *The "Archer" crux.* The Deptford burial register *does* record Marlowe's slayer as "Frezer" and this is confirmed by the other records (inquest report, pardon, etc.). I have compared the photographic facsimile of the entry with the original and the photograph is accurate. Dr. Leslie Hotson's reliability cannot properly be refuted by Mr. Wright's "two very good reasons", both unproved, that Dr. Hotson used a reproduction and that he is biassed. Are we not all obliged to use reproductions at times (good ones I trust) and are we not all sometimes biassed, including Mr. Wright and me? "Francis Archer" never existed before the 1820 misreading of the burial entry and my original query as to how Mrs. Gallup's "Bacon" knew the name 200 years earlier is still unanswered.

2. *The* 1619 *Shakespeare "Jaggard" Quartos.* The only early quartos of *Sir John Oldcastle* and *Merchant of Venice* are as follows. (Details from Sir Walter Greg's *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, Vol. 1, 1939).

Greg 166: *Sir John Oldcastle*

(a) "Printed by V[alentine]. S[immes]. . . . 1600." *No* copy at Boston or New York Public Libraries.

(b) "printed for T[homas]. P[avier]. 1600." Actually printed by Jaggard in 1619. Copies in both Boston and N.Y. Public Libraries.

Greg 172: *Merchant of Venice*

(a) "Printed by I[ames]. R[oberts]. for Thomas Heyes, . . . 1600." Usually called the "Heyes Quarto". Copies in Boston and N.Y. Public Libraries.

(b) "Printed by J. Roberts, 1600." Actually by Jaggard in 1619. Usually called the "Roberts Quarto." Copies in Boston and N.Y. Public Libraries.

Mrs. Gallup specified on an unnumbered leaf near the beginning of her book that she used the copies of these quartos in the Boston and Lenox [*i.e.* New York] Public Libraries. As neither of these libraries possesses the true 1600 *Oldcastle* and Mrs. Gallup records in two places that she used the "Roberts" *Merchant of Venice* (not the "Heyes") it is clear that she must have extracted her cipher story from the Jaggard 1619 editions of both plays. Mr. Wright is therefore mistaken in his contention that she used the quartos actually printed in 1600, and he might have verified his assertions before accusing me of having "sadly blundered." My criticism of the 1619 quarto extractions is still unassailed. (Mrs. Gallup also used both "Roberts" and "Fisher" editions of *Midsummer Night's Dream.* From the "Roberts" edition, another Jaggard 1619 printing, she finds Robert Cecil "plai's spy on my every act". Cecil died in 1612.)

3. *Anne Boleyn's Execution.* I am surprised that Mr. Wright appears to doubt the well authenticated fact that a French executioner was brought over specially to execute Anne with a sword. Can he give any evidence that an axe was used?

4. *Acceptance of Mrs. Gallup's Story.* Mr. Wright thinks I ought to accept

Mrs. Gallup's decipherments and statements until I can prove them untrue. But surely the onus of proof of a theory lies with those proposing and sponsoring it. The fact that for over fifty years Mrs. Gallup's supporters have entirely failed to prove her contentions is in itself good reason for remaining sceptical. (Mr. Wright, who elsewhere mentions my failure to give a reference, leaves in anonymity the "critics of those former days" who are supposed to have checked the decipherment.) Mrs. Gallup had spent less than five years on the bi-literal when the 2nd edition of her book appeared in 1900. Some of us have been studying her work for longer than that!

Yours faithfully,

56 Denbigh St., London, S.W.1. E. R. WOOD

To the Editor of BACONIANA
Sir,

## "YORK HOUSE OR YORK PLACE"

The statement by Dr. Rawley that Bacon "was born at York House or York Place" has confused a good many Baconians.

In 1560 (the year of Bacon's birth) Ralph Aggas produced a fine illustrated map of London. This marks Sir Nicholas Bacon's London residence between the Strand and the river as Yorke Place. All the great mansions along the river (Somerset, Arundel, &c.) are designated "Place" not "House".

Yours faithfully,

27 Avenue Rd., Falmouth R. L. EAGLE

**Editorial Note:** The old map to which Mr. Eagle refers can be examined in the reproduction given as a supplement in *Old and New London*, in six volumes published in 1875 by Walter Thornbury.

To the Editor of BACONIANA
Sir,

On Saturday, 24th April last Mr. Richard Dimbleby, in his inimitable way, visited Stratford-on-Avon and introduced television viewers to some of the scenes with which William Shakspere would have been familiar.

Incidentally he announced that there is a body of experts engaged in investigating every aspect of his life-anxious to obtain any additional scrap of information about him. One can well understand that more information would be very welcome, in view of the fact that the intensive search that has been going on ever since the days of David Garrick has produced nothing to suggest that the putative author could by any possibility have acquired the requisite knowledge to write the immortal plays.

Apparently these experts are not aware that the alleged portrait of Shakespeare appearing in the First Folio, is a mask, designed by Droeshout some seven years after William's death; and that there is in fact no genuine portrait of Shakespeare extant. This fact is admitted in a report made for the Shakespeare Trust.

That his name appears first in the list of actors given in the Folio is obviously part of the deception considered necessary to conceal the real author, for there is no record of any part having been played by him in the Shakespeare plays. We know that Burbage played Hamlet and Richard III, and that Kemp played Dogberry. Is it not extraordinary that if the Stratford player were the author of the works that have been attributed to him, nobody has left any record of any part he played in his own works?

We know that together with Burbage, Heminge, Condell and others he was a shareholder in the Globe theatre. Probably his job was to procure plays from authors. In the case of the "Shakespeare" plays the evidence points conclusively to Sir Francis Bacon as the author. But he did not wish to be known as such "until some time be past": therefore Heminge and Condell seven years after the Stratford man's death were instructed to collect together and print the plays in a folio edition as by Mr. William Shakespeare, with supporting evidence designed to lend some appearance of authority to an otherwise too bald and unconvincing deception.

Yours faithfully,

Thanet House,
74 Egmont Road,
Sutton, Surrey HOWARD BRIDGEWATER

To the Editor of BACONIANA
Sir,

Under the title "Ben Jonson Bricklayer?" Mr. Wm. Augustus Vaughan asked in BACONIANA, No. 139, something about Ben Jonson.

May I turn his attention to page 382 of the *Worthies of England* by Ph. Fuller, edited by John Freeman?

In this article it is mentioned that after being bred in Westminster School, he was statutably admitted into St. John's College in Cambridge, where he continued but few weeks for want of further maintenance, being fain to return to the trade of his father-in-law (or stepfather) a bricklayer. He helped in the new structure of Lincoln's Inn, when having a trowel in his hand, he had a book in his pocket.

Yours truly,
COUNT L. DE RANDWYCK

Aerdenhout, Holland
68 Zandvoorterweg.

To the Editor of BACONIANA
Sir,

As you wrote, "we shall be grateful if any of our readers can throw light on some of the possible anachronisms suggested by Mr. Eagle, to whom we are indebted for raising an interesting study," I send you the ensuing notes about the alleged "anachronisms" quoted in his article "The Vocabulary of the Bi-literal Cipher Story," BACONIANA, No. 146, August 1953, p. 93.

THRILL:
—*King John*, (1623) Act v. Sc. 2 (*cf.* Editor's Note)
—*Henry IV*, Act ii. Sc. 4, (*cf.* Editor's Note)
—M. Drayton (1563-1631): "He was coming forth that should the thickets *thrill*" (*Morning in Warwickshire*)
—R. Crashaw (? -1650): ". . . her supple breast thrills out sharp airs . ." (*Music's Duel*)
—Milton: . . the airy region Thrilling. . .' (*Paradise Lost*)

CRESSIVE (No such word given. Is it known in America?)
I think it is. See "The Works of William Shakespeare", with Life, *Glossary*, etc. by the editor of The Chandos "Classics." London, Fred. Warne and Co., London and New York, 1893, p. 1113: "Cressive: increasing."

AVENTURES (adventures, even in French, so spelled of old: see *Dauzat's Dict. Etymologique*. Paris, Larousse. 1949)
—"All the adventures strange that Robin Hood befel" (Drayton, *Polyolb.* 28th Song)
—"To hazard the trial of over many perilous adventures" (Roger Ascham)
—". . . in adventures of learning" (Henry Wootton)
—". . . put all upon adventures" (Bacon, *Essay: Of Riches*)
—". . . .adventures" (Bacon, *Essay: Of Vain Glory*)

CONTRIVANCES - contrive:
—"Many new contrivances for the beautifying and ennobling of cities." (Bacon, *Sapientia Veterum*, 1606)
—"Contriver" (Bacon, *Henry VII*)
*Joseph Devey, M.A.* "Works of Lord Bacon," London. H. G. Bohn, York St., Covent Garden. 1862)
—CONTRIVE: to spend and wear out: See *Glossary*, p.1113: Shakespeare.
—"Plot and Contrive base ways to high desires." (Samuel Daniel: *Epist*).
—"Contriving and musing . . .' (R. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*)

SHADOWY:
—"Shadowy life" (Bacon, *Narcissus or Self Love*)
—". . . is well shadowed out by Echo . ." (Bacon, *Prometheus*)

TUDOR (. . the word TUDOR as spelt by Mrs. Gallup. . ):
—". . . Ovenum Tutherum qui Catharinam Henrici sexti matrem uxorem duxerat . . ." (*Florus Anglicus* by L. Silvio, p.127. Amstelodami, apud J. Ravesteynium, 1652).

(Did not Bacon himself use the spelling "TUDOR" (=74), as Mr. Theobald and others have ever "read" it, in their "decipherings"? The translation of *Henry the Seventh* published by Devey, gives TUDOR. The Latin edition of Franc. Hackium, Ludg. Batavor. Anno 1647 spells "Tidderus." In France "Tider" has been adopted by Baudot de Juilly, the author of the *Histoire de Catherine de France Reine d'Angleterre* (Paris, edition Guillaume de Luyne, 1696), but "Tudor" is generally prevalent even amongst the Welsh.

—The famous Johon Owen (Joh. Oveni) however, in his *Epigrams* (lib. iii, No. 39) "Ad Regem. Henricus Rosad, Regna Jacobus" spells TYDER and links it with the Greek Φ λεχ δειρον (Theodor) He explains the

"Felix prole parens: *Ovveni* et *Britonis ortu*" Clara.
nomine reque tulit Θεχ δειρον

saying in asterisks:

"Hic non indignum notatu est Britannico sanguini tergeminum Britanniae "imperium *occulto* quodam *fato* restitutum: 1 Reg. Stotiae per Stuartum "2. regum Angliae per TYDERUM. 3. Imperium totius Insulae per "Jacobum I, ex utroque oriundum."

—In the second series of his *Epigrams* (liv. 1, 57) Ovvenus tells us in a new note: Audoenum THEODORUM Henrici septimi avum.

DAMPENING, to damp:
—"Never damped" *Oblivion*, (Thomas Browne, 1605-1682)
—". . . did much damp and dismay" (Bacon, *Henry VII*, op. cit.)

INALIENABLE:
—". . alienate the hearths: alienations" (Bacon, *Henry VII*)
—"as every alien pen hath got my use." (Shakespeare's Sonnet 78)

DESIGNATE:
—"Design" in Shakespeare's Works (see Glossary p.1113): to mark out.
—"Designatif" (see Cotgrave *A Dictionary of French and English Tongues*, London, 1611)
—"Designedly omitted the last crime of Prometheus" (Bacon, *Sapientia Veterum*)

UMBRATIK:
—"Obnumgrate with bews" (G. Douglas: 1474-1528) Id. umbrage.
—"Adumbration" (Thos. Browne, *Light the shadow of God*)
—". . .Umbratilem," (Bacon's *Sapientia Veterum*: Narcissus sive Philautia.

MEANDERING:
—". . . with many meanders . ." (Bacon, *Wisdom of Ancients*) Styx or Leagues)

ENUMERATED:
—"inumerable" (T. Morus, *Utopia*, trad. Burnett)
—"inumerable channels and dikes" (P. Heylin, *Microcosmus*, 1621)
—"David . . numbering his people . ." (R. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*)

LENIENTLY:
—". . . our lenity will be undoing" (R. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*)
—". . . to leis their pain . .' (G. Douglas, 1474-1526)

FOIBLES:
—"foible" and "foibles" (see *Oeuvre Morales et Politiques de Chancellor Bacon*, trad. by J. Baudoin, Paris 1626, ps. 9, 43, 59, 74, 475, etc.)

Touching the word "INSIGNIA" (Latin—"ensigns") it is curiously *ented* (Burton, *Anatomy*) and explained as "*honor's ensigns*" in *Titus Andronicus*—a "latin" name for an English play . . (Shaks. Act. 1, Sc. 2).

I think all this "sufficeth" on the matter of *bi-literality* that is to say on "*dressing old words new*" (Shakespeare Sonnet 76).

Sincerely yours,
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